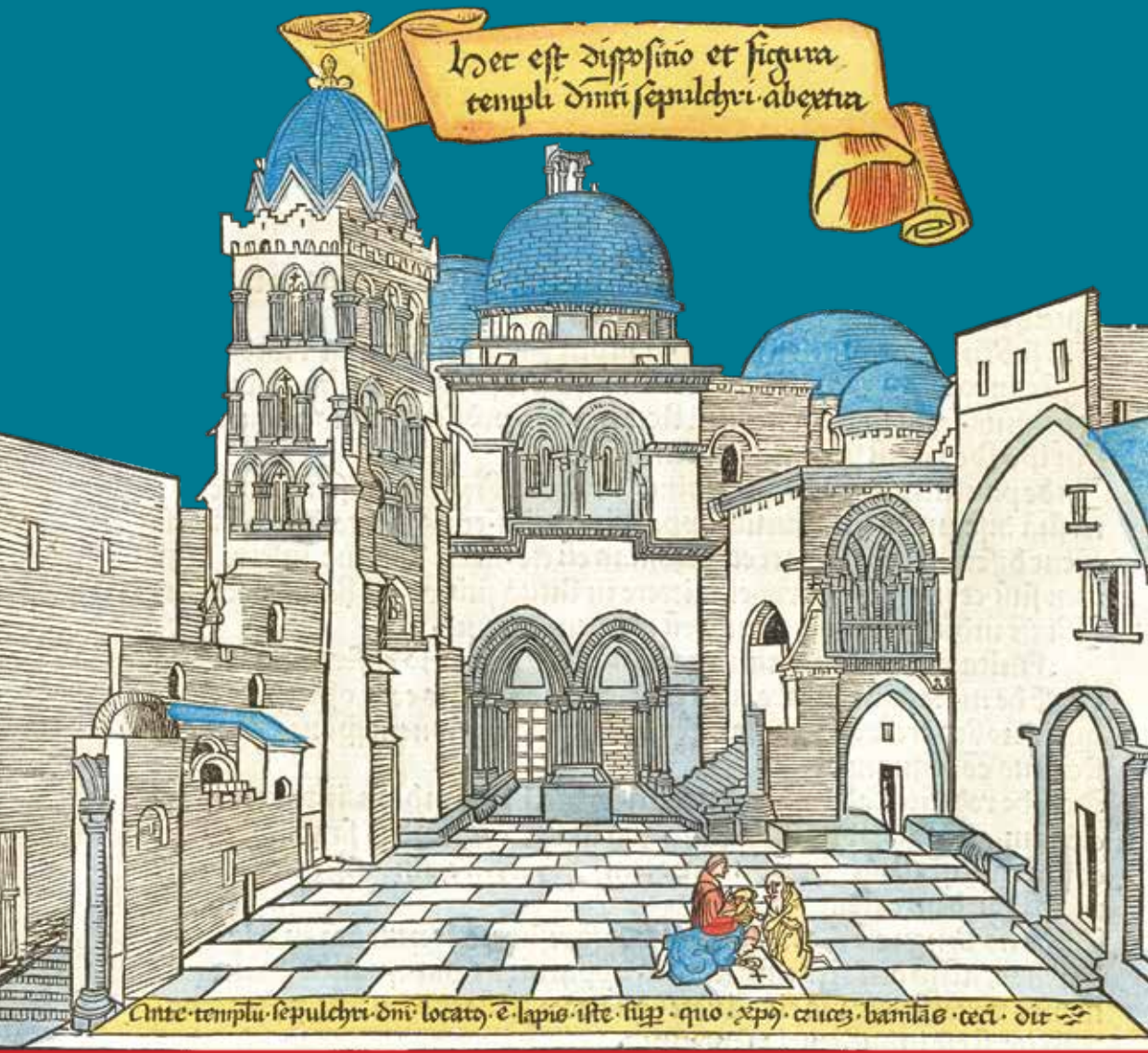
MARY BOYLE



Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages

WRITING THE JERUSALEM PILGRIMAGE IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

Writing the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages

Mary Boyle

D. S. BREWER

First published 2021
D. S. Brewer, Cambridge

ISBN 978 1 84384 580 5 hardback
ISBN 978 1 78744 853 7 ePDF

D. S. Brewer is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620–2731, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

Cover image: The Church of the Holy Sepulchre (woodcut by Erhard Reuwich,
in Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, The Bodleian
Libraries, The University of Oxford, Arch. B c.25 (1486), fol. 29v)

Cover design: Greg Jorss

To my parents, Nicholas and Rosemary, my husband, Antony,
and to Liam, with love and gratitude

Contents

List of Illustrations viii

Acknowledgements ix

Editorial Conventions xi

Introduction: To Be A Pilgrim 1

1 Genre and Purpose: The *Itineraries of William Wey* 26

2 Bernhard von Breydenbach: The Religious Other and Other Religions 67

3 Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Case of Arnold von Harff 109

4 Writing the Holy Land in the Age of Print: Thomas Larke and Bernhard von Breydenbach 153

Conclusion: Ways To Be A Pilgrim 192

Appendix: Selected German and English Jerusalem Pilgrim Writers 197

Bibliography 204

Index 224

Illustrations

Maps

1 William Wey, 1458 Route to Jerusalem: Eton to Jerusalem. xii

2 William Wey, 1462 Route to Jerusalem: Eton to Jerusalem. xiii

3 Bernhard von Breydenbach, 1483 Route to Jerusalem: Oppenheim to Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai. xiv

4 Arnold von Harff, 1496–99 Route to Jerusalem: Cologne to Sinai. xv

5 Arnold von Harff, 1496–99 Route to Jerusalem: Cairo to Jerusalem. xvi

6 Thomas Larke, 1506 Route to Jerusalem: Rye to Jerusalem. xvii

Maps produced by Cath D'Alton.

Plates

1 Image of Jewish moneylender.'They have no guilty conscience about all the usury they practice on other people' (Woodcut by Erhward Reuwich, The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Arch. B c.25, (1486), fol. 76v.) 98

2 Image of crocodile in the *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*. 'On the hot sand there lie enormous water snakes … called *kalkatricie* or *kocodrullen*' (The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS Bodl. 972 (1554), fol. 59r) 142

3 Arnold von Harff prays at Calvary in the *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*. 'We went onwards to the temple of our Lord Jesus' (The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS Bodl. 972 (1554), fol. 111v) 143

Tables

1 Contents of William Wey's *Itineraries* 35

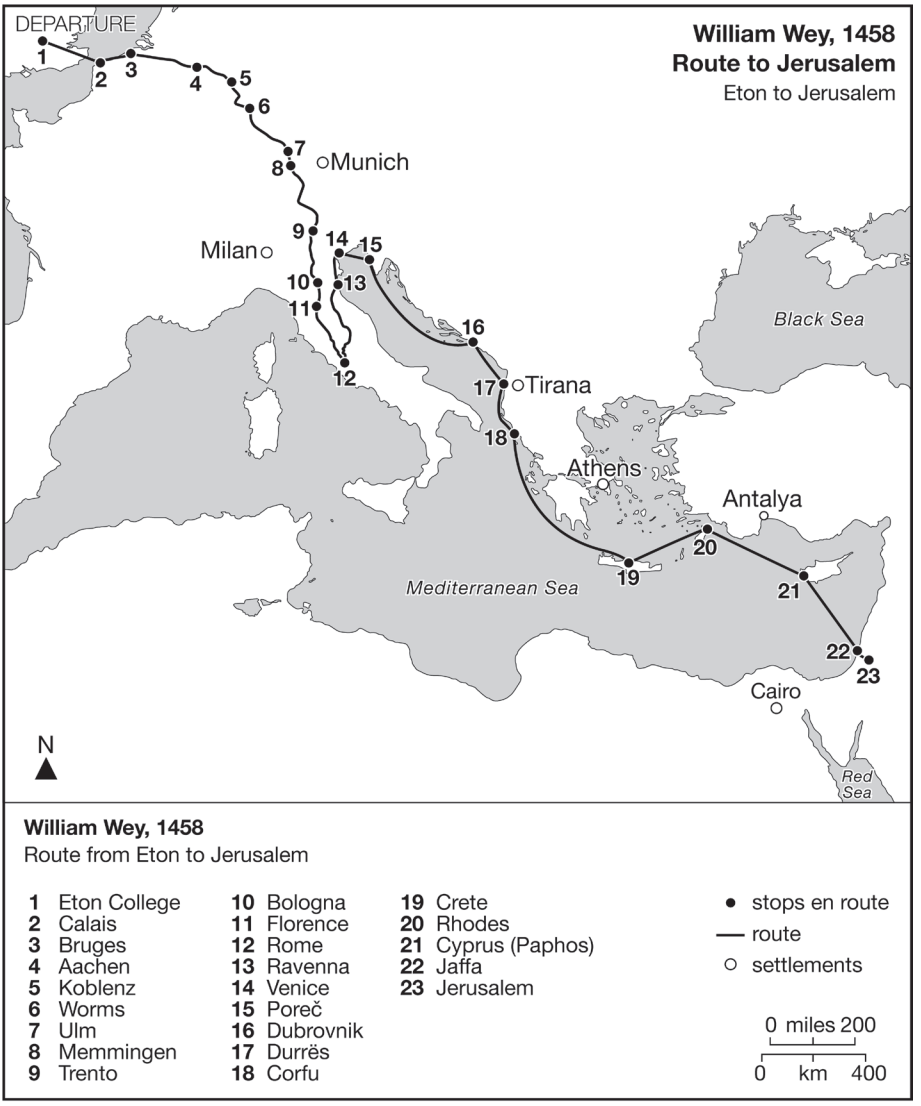
Acknowledgements

Many eyes have been cast over this work at different stages, from idea to finished book, and it could not have reached completion without the particular input, support, and constructive criticism of the following people: Annette Volfing, Helen Moore, Almut Suerbaum, Elizabeth Andersen, Nigel Palmer, Charlotte Woodford, Nicholas Boyle, and Boydell & Brewer's reviewers. I must also thank those people who have discussed and shared their own research with me: Neil Kenny, who spoke with me about curiosity at an early stage; David Wallace and Ora Limor for allowing me access to the Jerusalem chapter in the then-forthcoming *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*; Professor Limor a second time for meeting me in Jerusalem to discuss pilgrimage; and Diana Lipton for showing me around the Old City. Thanks are also due to Tristan Franklinos for assistance with unedited Latin, and to Meghan Quinlan and Henry Hope for help on questions relating to medieval music. I must also extend thanks to Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck for sending me a copy of her doctoral thesis ahead of its publication, and answering questions on Breydenbach and Guglingen, and to Matthew Coneys, for sharing his article on Mandeville in Italy. The Pilgrim Libraries Network, organised by Anthony Bale, provided a marvellous forum for the exchange of ideas, and much food for thought. Professor Bale and Dr Ritsema van Eck also kindly helped me when libraries were shut during the Covid-19 pandemic and I was unable to access some of their publications. My work would have been a great deal harder without the help of the Bodleian Library's Special Collections staff at the University of Oxford. I also thank the Bodleian for permission to include images from MS Bodl. 972 and Arch. B c.25; the *Bodleian Library Record* for permission to include Table 1, an updated version of a table that initially appeared in my article 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 (c.1470)', which they published in 2015; and Cath D'Alton for producing the maps of the pilgrims' routes. The research for this project was primarily funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council, and some revisions were completed during a period of Irish Research Council funding. Support from Maynooth University's Publication Fund allowed me to include images. Finally, thanks must go to the rest of my friends and family for entirely different kinds of support, and for asking questions that enriched the way I thought about the project, in particular Anne Miles, Marie Winther Sall,

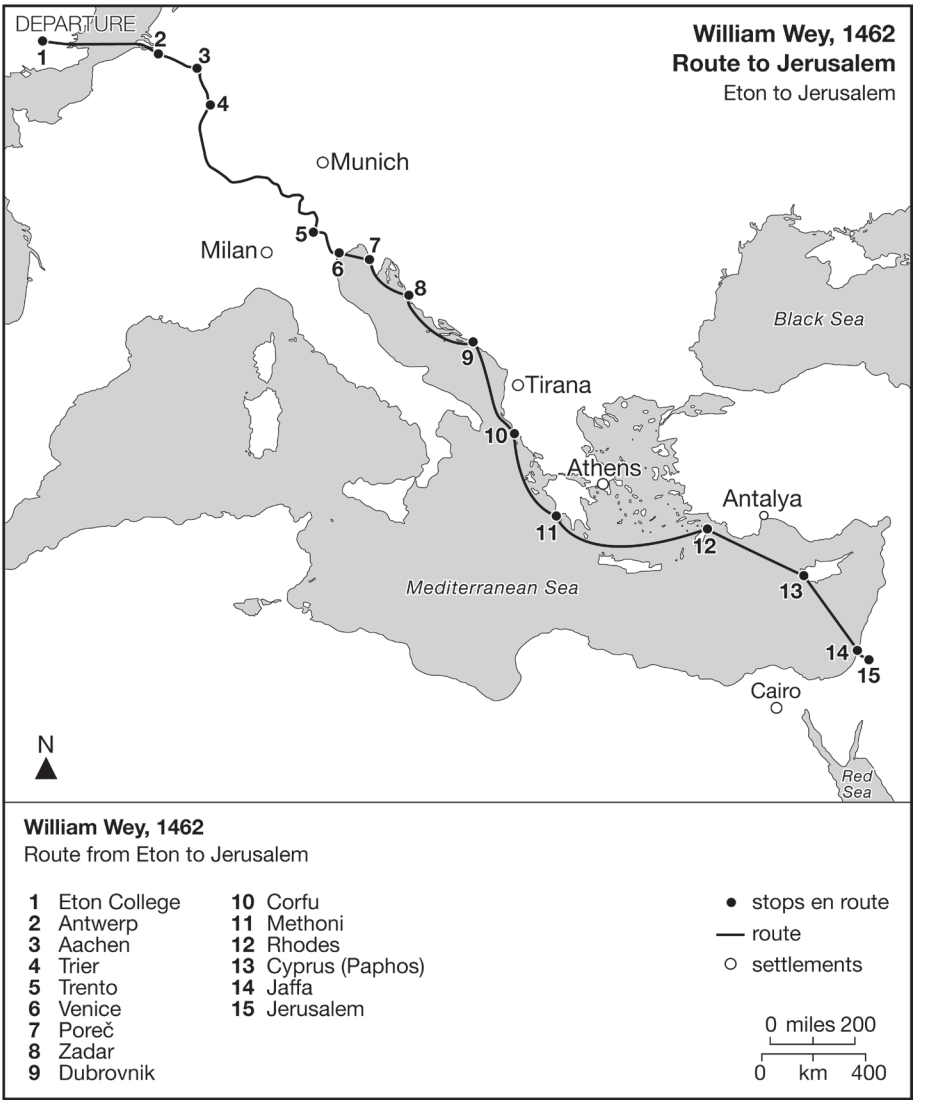
Emily Lord-Kambitsch, Anna Boeles Rowland, Gustav Zamore, Mike, Liz, and Nick Harlow, Rosemary, Michael, Doran, and Angela Boyle, and last, but by no means least, my husband, Antony Harlow, who has lived with these four pilgrims as long as I have, and who was the first person to read the book from start to finish.

Editorial Conventions

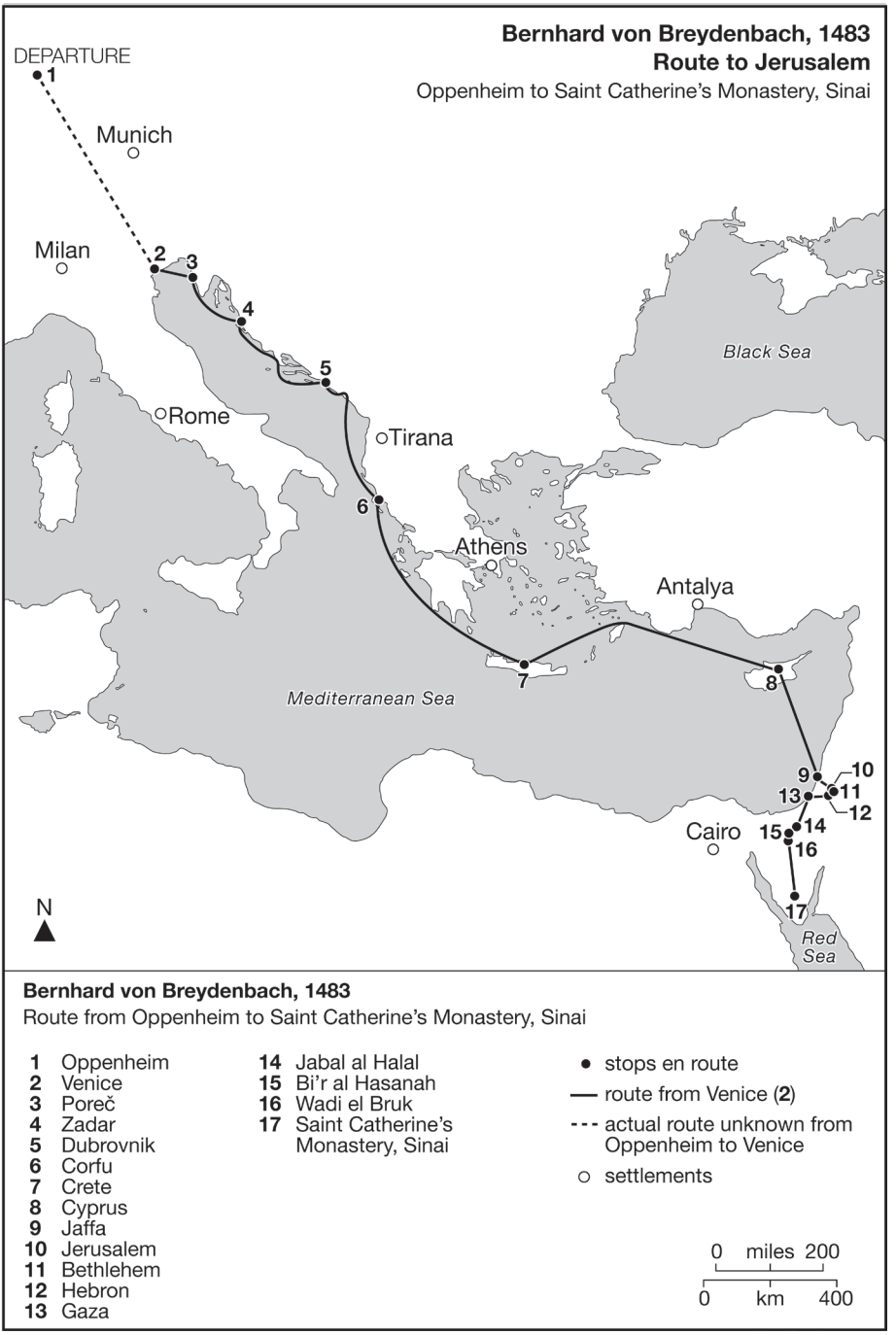
Translations are my own, unless otherwise stated. The spellings used for the names of the pilgrims reflect modern convention where it exists. References to William Wey are to the University of Oxford, the Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565, but capitalisation of proper nouns and punctuation have been introduced. References to the manuscript are cross-referenced with Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857). References to Bernhard von Breydenbach are to Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), which is a diplomatic edition. Punctuation in quotations from Breydenbach, as well as expansion of abbreviations, is therefore mine, and such changes are unsignalled. References to Arnold von Harff are to E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860) and use Groote's punctuation. References to Thomas Larke are to Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851). Because both Larke's printer, Richard Pynson, and Ellis both render the letter thorn as identical to 'y', it has been normalised here as 'th'. Quotations from medieval texts in the Introduction and Conclusion are presented solely in my own modern English translation.



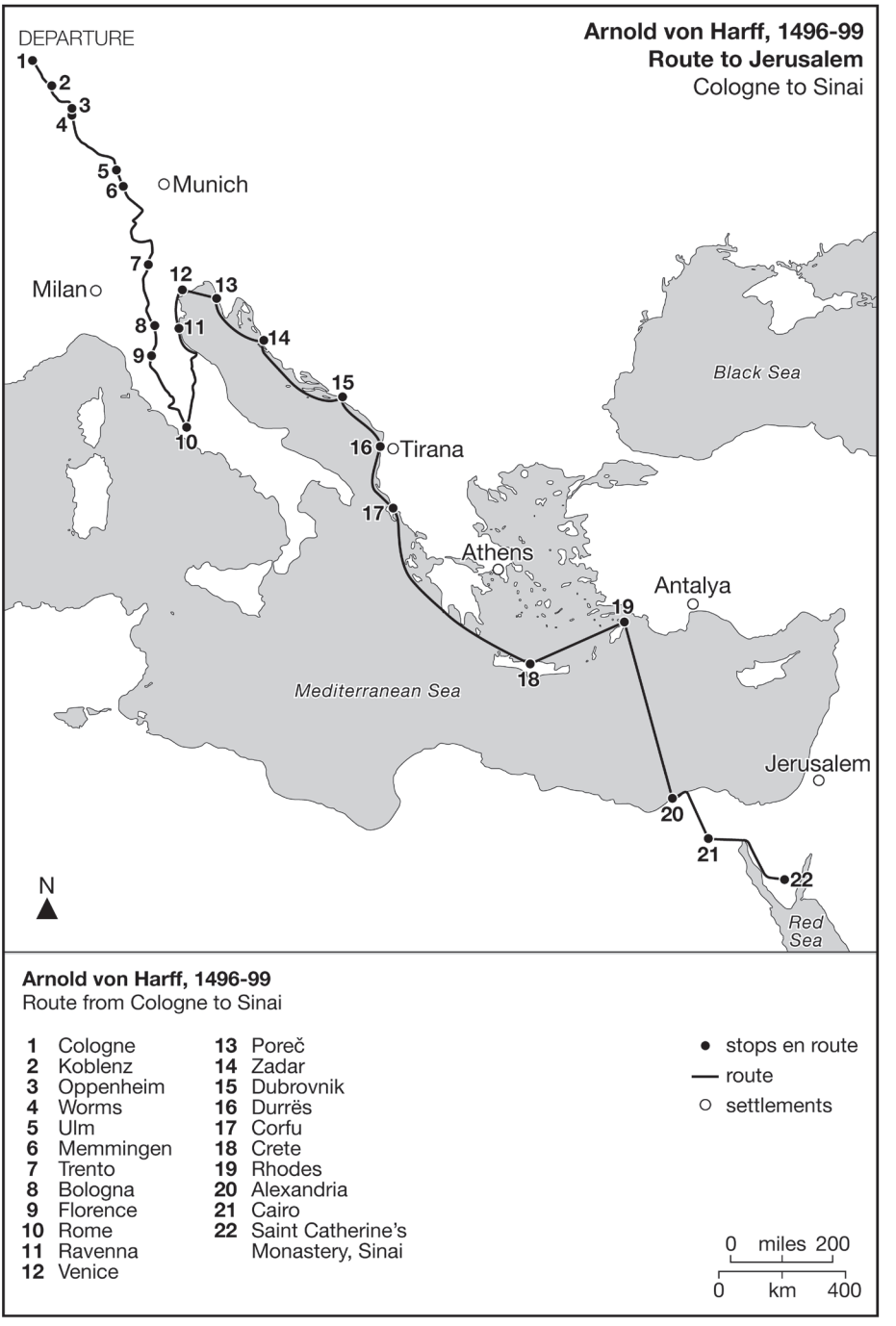
Map 1. William Wey, 1458 Route to Jerusalem: Eton to Jerusalem.



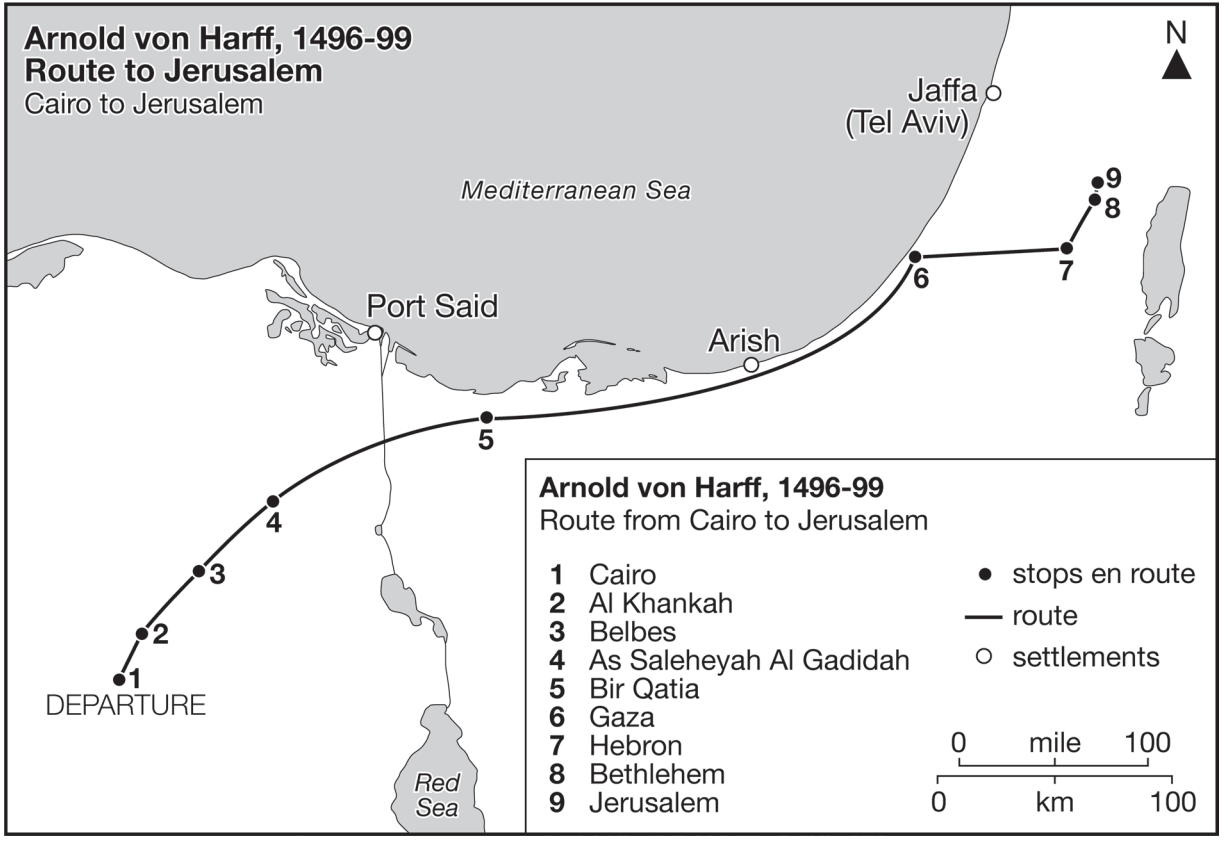
Map 2. William Wey, 1462 Route to Jerusalem: Eton to Jerusalem.



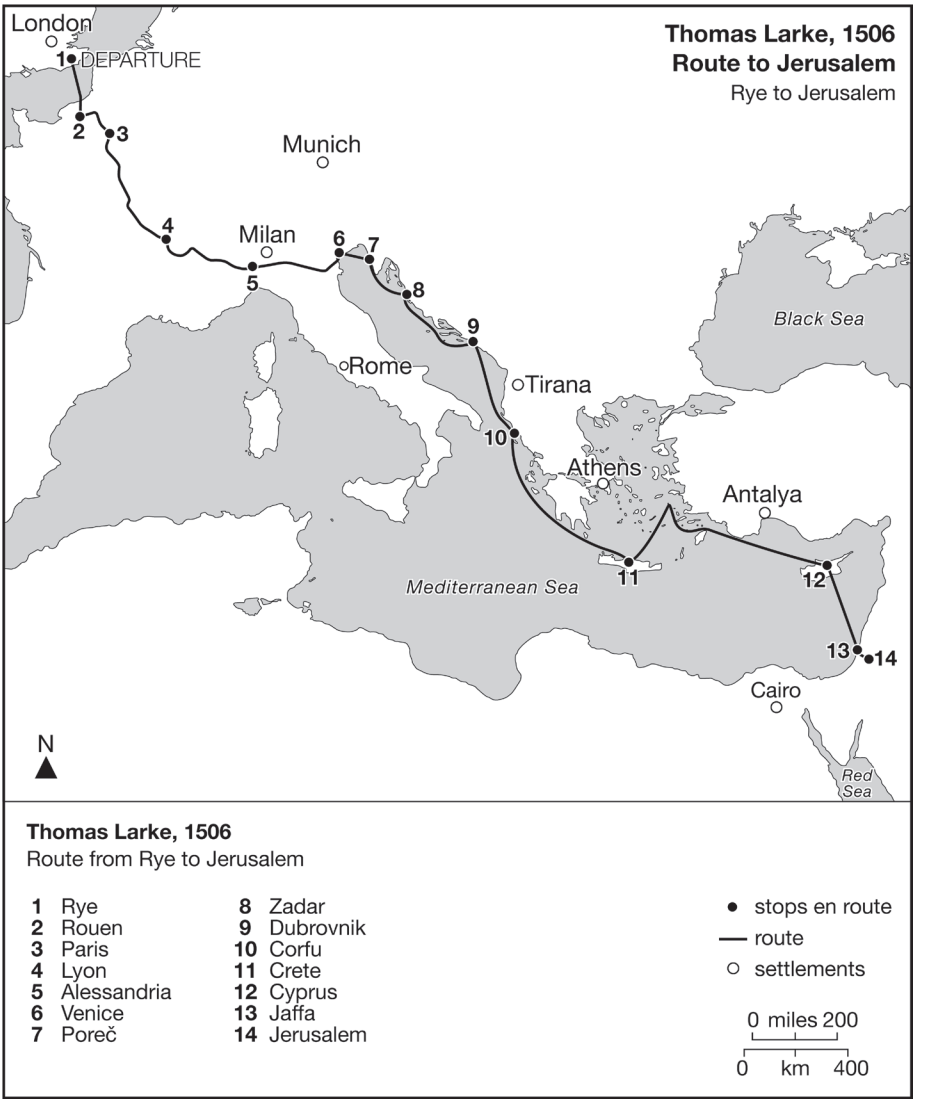
Map 3. Bernhard von Breydenbach, 1483 Route to Jerusalem: Oppenheim to Saint Catherine's Monastery, Sinai.



Map 4. Arnold von Harff, 1496–99 Route to Jerusalem: Cologne to Sinai.



Map 5. Arnold von Harff, 1496–99 Route to Jerusalem: Cairo to Jerusalem.



Map 6. Thomas Larke, 1506 Route to Jerusalem: Rye to Jerusalem.

Introduction: To Be A Pilgrim

The Jerusalem pilgrimage was no small undertaking in the fifteenth century. Pilgrims could spend the best part of a year or more travelling, and yet not even manage two weeks in the Holy Land. They faced dangers to their pocket – the Jerusalem pilgrimage could cost them more than a year's wages – and to their bodies – death was a constant risk, and pilgrims routinely made their wills before departing.[1] Thousands, though, were drawn to make the journey each year.[2] Although only a minority of these travellers chose to document their pilgrimages in writing, textual representations of pilgrimage increased sharply in the second half of the fifteenth century.[3] It is therefore worth considering these representations as a literary phenomenon and, more importantly, an international literary phenomenon, drawing on a shared international religious culture about to undergo earth-shattering change. While late-medieval pilgrim authors were writing in an essentially pre-national world, we see an emerging understanding of what might now be termed national difference, and certainly a growing awareness of cultural differences between and amongst western pilgrims themselves, even as they frequently sought to define themselves against an external other. This book therefore looks at four pilgrimages created in writing at the close of the Middle Ages by two writers from each of two cultural sub-contexts that would now be regarded as separate nations, but which were, in their own time, part of a continent-spanning culture: two Englishmen – William Wey and Thomas Larke – and two Germans – Bernhard von Breydenbach and Arnold von

1 Adrian R. Bell and Richard S. Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business', *Enterprise and Society*, 12/3 (2011), 620; Diana Webb, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (1999, repr. 2001), 84.

2 Although detailed records of pilgrim numbers do not exist, the Hospital of St John, where many pilgrims stayed while they were in Jerusalem, could accommodate two thousand guests at any one time: Bell and Dale, 'Pilgrimage Business', 620.

3 Naturally any assessment of trends in pilgrimage writing is calculated on the basis of surviving copies, and the true numbers may have been much higher. Ursula Ganz-Blättler identifies 262 surviving accounts of the Jerusalem pilgrimage produced by western Europeans between 1301 and 1540, of which only 95 were produced before 1460: Ursula Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)* (Tübingen, 1990), 40.

Harff.[4] The journeys undertaken by our writers provide them with an opportunity to attempt to define that shared culture, frequently by encountering what it is not. Meanwhile, the cracks indicating the impending Reformation are well established. Between Wey's account in around 1470 and Larke's in 1511, the horizons of the known world expanded dramatically; the new technology of print – familiar to both Breydenbach and Harff – also became established in England, if somewhat later than in Germany; and the potential audience for written accounts of pilgrimage was greatly increased. It is true, as we shall see, that the writing of pilgrimage was influenced at least as much by how other pilgrims described their travels as by any one pilgrim's actual experience. But no matter how these four men's written pilgrimages may have deviated from reality, they had their basis in a risky and time-consuming physical activity, a spiritual practice rooted in earthly travel, which was then removed from the world and placed on the page. Behind the textual persona that each pilgrim author presents to his audience stands a man who lived and breathed and worshipped in the decades immediately before the Reformation began to alter for ever European perceptions of the nature and value of pilgrimage.

The first of our four pilgrims to travel was William Wey. Born in 1405 or 1406, Wey was bursar of Eton, as well as a fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, having held this latter position since at least 1430. He embarked on his first pilgrimage in 1456, travelling to Compostela, and subsequently journeying twice to Jerusalem: once in 1458 and once in 1462. It is likely that Wey was a Lancastrian, although – perhaps wisely, given the instability of English politics during the Wars of the Roses – he says little of his own views. Around 1467, Wey retired to the Augustinian Bonshommes priory at Edington in Wiltshire, where he had a replica of the Holy Sepulchre built adjoining the church. Nothing of it now remains, except an access door.[5] Wey died at Edington

[4] Unless otherwise stated, translations are my own. The spellings used for the names of the pilgrims reflect modern convention where it exists. William Wey and Arnold von Harff are routinely referred to under these spellings in recent scholarship. See, for example: Francis Davey, tran., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010); Helmut Brall-Tuchel and Folker Reichert, eds, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago: das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498)* (Cologne, 2007). Bernhard von Breydenbach's name has been regularly given as both 'Breidenbach' and 'Breydenbach'. 'Breydenbach' is used here, in keeping with recent anglophone scholarship and the recent modern edition of his German text: Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010); Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio' from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park, 2014). The spelling of Thomas Larke's name is uncontroversial, but the name of his patron, Sir Richard Guylforde, has been modernised both as 'Guildford' and 'Guldeford'. Much recent discussion of the account maintains the contemporary 'Guylforde' spelling used here. See, for example: Anthony Bale, '"ut legi": Sir John Mandeville's Audience and Three Late Medieval English Travelers to Italy and Jerusalem', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 38/1 (2016), 201–37.

[5] Anthony Bale, 'Jerusalem in Wiltshire: "Like a Fortified Mansion"', *Remembered Places*,

in November 1476, leaving many of his possessions to the priory, including his pilgrimage account.[6] He had compiled this during his retirement, and it survives in only one manuscript, a probable autograph: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565.[7] The text begins in Middle English, and continues in Latin, the language of the majority of the work. It does not follow the chronological order of Wey's journeys, as it focuses primarily on his two pilgrimages to Jerusalem, continues with a summary of the indulgences to be obtained in Rome, and concludes with Compostela, his earliest pilgrimage. Within the text, Wey repeatedly addresses an audience, but there is no conclusive evidence that the work was circulated at or around the time of writing – and an intended audience does not necessarily equate to a real one.[8] Nonetheless, some circulation is possible, even probable: sections of the *Itineraries*, which do not appear in any other surviving works, appear in the anonymous *Information for Pilgrims*, which was first printed by Wynkyn de Worde around 1498.[9] Wey's manuscript was edited by Bulkeley Bandinel for the Roxburghe Club in 1857 and published in translation in 2010 by Francis Davey, along with a commentary.[10]

Next to depart was Bernhard von Breydenbach, the son of a noble family in what is now Marburg-Biedenkopf. Probably born in 1434,[11] Breydenbach was sent to Mainz in 1450, where he became a cathedral canon. He embarked on his pilgrimage to the Holy Land and St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai in 1483. Breydenbach lived for another thirteen years after his return, ultimately dying in 1497.[12] In early 1486, he published a printed Latin edition of his pilgrimage, and a High German edition followed four months later, that June.[13] Both

---

2012 <https://rememberedplaces.wordpress.com/2012/03/12/jerusalem-in-wiltshire-like-a-fortified-mansion-36/> [accessed 18 April 2019].

6 William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470), fols 2r–2v; Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857), xxviii–xxx; Henry Summerson, 'Wey, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29152> [accessed 18 April 2019].

7 For a detailed account of this manuscript, see: Mary Boyle, 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 (c.1470)', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28/1 (2015), 22–36.

8 Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 129.

9 E. Gordon Duff, ed., *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London, 1893), xvii.

10 Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*; Davey, *William Wey*. Bandinel's edition is problematic, and so references are to the manuscript, cross-referenced with the Bandinel edition (see Boyle, 'MS. Bodl. 565', 22–36.). Capitalisation of proper nouns and punctuation have been introduced.

11 Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach von 1486 und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs* (Stuttgart, 2006), 57.

12 Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*, 54.

13 Breydenbach's account is an entirely printed tradition.

versions are often referred to by their Latin name as *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (hereafter, frequently *Peregrinatio*). Despite *Peregrinatio*'s importance in the late Middle Ages, the Latin text has not been edited,[14] and Isolde Mozer produced the first full edition and translation of the Early New High German version only in 2011.[15]

It seems that Breydenbach's intention was always to document his journey, for he brought with him 'a good artist'.[16] This man, Erhard Reuwich, is also credited as the printer of *Peregrinatio*,[17] and his woodcuts form an integral part of the resultant work, particularly its earlier printings – later editions often reduced or eliminated them. The Latin – but not the German – text makes reference to a learned man who was appointed to work on both the Latin and the vernacular versions of the text.[18] Though Breydenbach does not name his collaborator, Felix Fabri, one of his fellow travellers, and a pilgrim author himself, identifies the man in question as a Martin Rath or Roth.[19] Both Fabri and Breydenbach credit Rath with much of the labour involved in actually writing the book. Frederike Timm ascribes to him the roles of translator (into Latin) of Breydenbach's travel notes, and of compiler. According to her reading, Rath's work was essentially clerical, while Breydenbach was not just the editor and financer of the project, but also the visionary behind it, who discussed each phase with Rath in minute detail.[20] Whatever the extent of Rath's input, Breydenbach certainly characterises *Peregrinatio* as his own work, casting himself immediately as narrator ('I, Bernhard von Breydenbach');[21] he omits Rath's name (unlike Reuwich's) and reduces credit to a single line in the Latin text, while emphasising his own role in selecting Rath.

Peregrinatio was a late-medieval bestseller, repeatedly reprinted before the end of the fifteenth century and translated into several European vernaculars,

14 References to the Latin text are therefore to the first printing, as contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Inc.c.G1.1486.1.

15 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*. Mozer's publication is a diplomatic edition and therefore punctuation, as well as expansion of abbreviations, is mine, and such changes are unsignalled. A partial translation with selected facsimile pages appeared in 1961: Elisabeth Geck, ed., tran., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Die Reise ins Heilige Land* (Wiesbaden, 1961).

16 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 50.

17 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 724.

18 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (Mainz, 1486), fol. 7v. My foliation; Inc.c.G1.1486.1 is unfoliated.

19 Konrad Dietrich Hassler, ed., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 2 (Stuttgart, 1843), I, 353.

20 'Als Herausgeber und Finanzier des Druckprojektes wird Breidenbach dem Dominikaner seine Vorstellungen umfassend auseinander gesetzt und mit ihm die einzelnen Entstehungsphasen genauestens durchgesprochen haben': Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*, 96.

21 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 4.

namely Flemish,[22] French, and Spanish,[23] while the Latin edition transcended linguistic boundaries and was popular across Europe, including in England. The translations into other languages (including the Flemish edition) were based on the Latin, making the High German edition, which is of most interest here, a separate tradition.[24] While much of it is a direct translation from the Latin, at times the two versions diverge in both structure and content.[25] The German version can be understood as a revised and updated text, with its audience slightly reconsidered. Breydenbach speaks of his desire to reach the 'uneducated laity' as much as 'nobles', 'prelates', and other 'educated people'.[26] While he does make reference to these groups in both languages, the Latin version includes moralising sections specifically aimed at the clergy,[27] which do not appear in the German version, so we can deduce that prelates were expected primarily to consult the Latin version. The existence of vernacular pamphlets based on Erasmus's Latin works has been understood as evidence that they reached the 'simple folk',[28] and similarly the German *Peregrinatio* seems to have been primarily directed towards a broad lay audience, who were not to be troubled with an extended criticism of their spiritual leaders.

Our third pilgrim writer, and only layman, was Arnold von Harff, a knight and the middle son of a nobleman, Adam von Harff. Born around 1471 at the family seat of Schloss Harff in Bedburg, he set out from Cologne at the age of twenty-five on an ambitious pilgrimage, which was intended to take him to Rome, Sinai, Jerusalem, Santiago de Compostela, St Patrick's Purgatory (Lough Derg), and Wilsnack. He apparently reached the first four of these destinations, as well as, if his account is to be believed, various further-flung locations. He did not, however, make it as far as Ireland, and Wilsnack also eluded him. He returned from his journey in 1499 and, in 1504, married Margarethe von dem Bongart and followed his uncle in the post of hereditary chamberlain at the court of Guelders. He died only a year later, in 1505, leaving his wife pregnant. Their daughter died in early childhood, and was buried with him.[29] Harff wrote, in Middle Low German, an account of his

22 The language of this edition is variously described. For more information, see Chapter 4, 166–67.

23 Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography* (London, 1911), viii.

24 The Latin version is used here to clarify certain points and where international textual transmission is concerned (see Chapter 4) but, from a literary perspective, the German version is the primary focus.

25 Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*, 2–3.

26 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 290, 50.

27 Breydenbach's subject is the wickedness of ambitious priests: Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fols 92r–94v.

28 Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford, 1998), 20.

29 E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), v–vi;

journeys that was fairly popular amongst members of his own social class in the Rhineland and Westphalia,[30] though it was not printed. The text continued to be circulated in manuscript into the seventeenth century, with fifteen manuscripts, of which a number are now missing, known to have survived into the modern period.[31] The text first appeared in print in 1860, when it was edited by E. von Groote from three manuscripts in the Harff family archives, including one that, while unlikely to be an autograph, dates from shortly after Harff's journey.[32] On the basis of Groote's edition, Harff's account has been translated into both modern German and English, in 2007 by Helmut Brall-Tuchel and Folker Reichert, and 1946 by Malcolm Letts, respectively.[33]

The identity of our fourth pilgrim author, the only figure to write entirely in English, remained obscure until 2013, when Rob Lutton identified the anonymous writer of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* as one Thomas Larke, chaplain to Sir Richard Guylforde from 1495, and later longstanding personal confessor to Cardinal Wolsey, whose mistress was Larke's sister. Partly thanks to his professional association with Wolsey, Larke moved in influential circles, administered various significant royal building projects, not least King's College Chapel in Cambridge, and developed a friendship with Erasmus. He died, shortly before Wolsey, in 1530, by which point he was probably in his mid-seventies.[34] Guylforde himself was a relatively senior

---

Malcolm Letts, ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (London, 1946), xiii–xiv. Groote gives the name of Harff's wife as Maria (von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, vi.) but Letts and more recent scholarship name her as Margarethe/ Margaretha: Helmut Brall-Tuchel, 'Der Reisende als Integrationsfigur? Arnold von Harff: Ein Pilger zwischen Regionalität und Expansion', in *Europäisches Erbe des Mittelalters: Kulturelle Integration und Sinnvermittlung einst und jetzt*, ed. Ina Karg (Göttingen, 2011), 75.

30 Volker Honemann, 'Zur Überlieferung der Reisebeschreibung Arnolds von Harff', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 107/2 (1978), 177–78.

31 Handschriftencensus, 'Arnold von Harff: Reisebericht', *Handschriftencensus* <www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2461> [accessed 17 April 2019]. Volker Honemann comprehensively surveyed eight available manuscripts, and identified six as missing, including the three used to produce E. von Groote's edition of the text. Honemann was not aware in 1978 of the existence of four of the manuscripts listed on the *Handschriftencensus*, but none of the manuscripts he omitted obviously correspond to Groote's descriptions of the manuscripts he designated A, B, and C, although the possibility cannot be entirely excluded: three manuscripts unknown to Honemann are at least of a similar date to Groote's MS B (Gießen, Universitätsbibliothek, Hs. 163, Maria Laach, Bibliothek der Benediktinerabtei, Hs. 268, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 972): Honemann, 'Überlieferung', 169–78.

32 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, vii.

33 Letts, *Arnold von Harff*; Brall-Tuchel and Reichert, *Arnold von Harff*.

34 Rob Lutton, 'Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England', *History*, 98/329 (2013), 49, n. 25. Larke is therefore referred to in earlier research simply as Guylforde's anonymous chaplain, or words to that effect. For a thorough account of the evidence identifying the anonymous chaplain as Larke, along with detailed biographical information, some of

figure in the government of Henry VII, having spent the years after 1483 in exile with the future king. Despite being well rewarded for his service, Guylforde frequently found himself seriously in debt, most disastrously in the first few years of the sixteenth century, when the king was finally forced to agree to his removal from office. To avoid prosecution, Guylforde set off on pilgrimage for the Holy Land in April 1506. Later that year, he fell ill on the road between Jaffa and Jerusalem and died, along with a fellow pilgrim, John Whitby, the prior of Gisborough. The rest of the group continued the pilgrimage without them,[35] returning home in March 1507,[36] the year in which Larke first appeared at court.[37] The circumstances surrounding the composition and publication of the account of the pilgrimage are not entirely clear; it was not printed until 1511, four years after the pilgrims' return, when it was issued from the press of the King's Printer, Richard Pynson.[38] It could, therefore, have been written at any point in the intervening period. Only a single copy has survived to the present day, first as part of the library of Thomas Grenville, and now in the British Library (shelfmark: G6719), and this copy was the basis for Henry Ellis's edition of the text in 1851. The existence of a sole surviving copy does not indicate a lack of circulation, as the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, itself heavily dependent on Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, exerted its own influence on English pilgrimage writing in the years immediately following its publication, becoming a source text for other pre-Reformation pilgrim authors.[39]

Given that there are surviving accounts from over one hundred and fifty pilgrims in this period, what distinguishes these four? Between them, our authors provide a cross-section of the kinds of writers who were engaging with this type of representation of the Jerusalem pilgrimage at the close of the Middle Ages, and they thus allow us to draw conclusions relevant beyond their own writings. Two of them travelled from the heart of the Holy Roman Empire, and from the centre of late-medieval pilgrimage writing, two from near the geographical edge of Europe, when awareness of a world beyond was only beginning to dawn, albeit that late-medieval England was hardly isolated from the rest of Christendom. They are clergy and lay; two accounts remained

---

which is summarised above, see: Rob Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing in Early Sixteenth-Century England: The Pilgrimage Accounts of Thomas Larke and Robert Langton', *Viator*, 48/3 (2017), 334–47.

35 Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), v–xi, 17, 40. Because Pynson and Ellis both render the letter thorn as identical to 'y', it has been normalised here as 'th' to avoid confusion. Sean Cunningham, 'Guildford, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11723> [accessed 18 April 2019].

36 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 82.

37 Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing', 346.

38 See Chapter 4, 177–79.

39 Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing', 347.

in manuscript form; two were printed. One manuscript pre-dates print culture (at least in England); one draws on it. One printed work was intended for both a domestic and an international audience; one anticipated only anglophone reception. Pilgrimage writing was far less common a practice in England than in the German-speaking lands, and the accounts of Wey and Larke, as well as being two of the most extensive surviving Jerusalem pilgrimage accounts of English origin, essentially bookend the period in question. Both men's work, moreover, appears to have directly influenced later pilgrim writing, even if the transmission path from Wey's words to de Worde's press is unclear. Although there is far more material available from German pilgrim authors,[40] any internationally comparative study of pilgrimage writing with any relevance to Germany must give a central position to Breydenbach's hugely influential *Peregrinatio*, while Harff's account, also popular, though much less widely circulated, taps directly into general contemporary understanding of the world beyond western Europe through his use of sources like Mandeville and Marco Polo – and Breydenbach himself. These four men are all thoroughly absorbed in the literary context of pilgrimage writing, the Englishmen as much as the Germans, despite the fact that they were engaged in a much less popular pursuit in their country of origin. Further, although the four did not encounter one another in person, their writings make use of a combination of the same sources – and, in some cases, are dependent on one another. They also provide different solutions to many of the same questions. To take just one example, Wey's account, written largely in Latin, but with its first sections in English, engages with the thorny question of language choice, grappling with some of the same issues that faced Breydenbach. Breydenbach came up with his own solution, deciding to publish his work in different German and Latin versions. Where Wey allowed a kind of combination of Latin and vernacular, Breydenbach elected to separate the two – and their respective audiences – entirely. Harff and Larke, closer to the end of the period, issued their accounts only in the vernacular, yet, as Chapter 4 will reveal, tensions between Latin and English were also at play in Larke's mind – perhaps all the more so, given that he used Breydenbach's Latin text as his major source. Harff, meanwhile, took Breydenbach's High German text and incorporated sections of it, translated into his own Low German dialect. Other pilgrimage writings, as we shall see, certainly provide helpful contextualisation here and in other areas, but these four accounts, considered in detail, shed a valuable mutual light on the thought and composition processes of their authors and the wider literary context in which they were constructed.

Each account is at least as indebted to the pilgrim – and other – writings that preceded it as it is to the literal pilgrimage experience of its writers. But

[40] See, for example, Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880); Reinhold Röhricht, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Gotha, 1889).

all four are also identified as the descriptions of real pilgrimages, and, if we are to understand the blurred lines between the historical practice of pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the literary pilgrimages created in writing, we must first ask what the Jerusalem pilgrimage entailed in the second half of the fifteenth century. Much of the experience was standardised. Pilgrim itineraries tended to join up at Venice. The land route through Europe could vary (see Maps 1–6), although courses tended to converge as pilgrims approached Italy. This portion of the journey is often represented in pilgrimage writing as little more than a list of places and the distances between them, often with comments about places of interest en route, both sacred and secular: Arnold von Harff, for example, was particularly keen to note castles, while Bernhard von Breydenbach found the European route to be so well known and so generic as not to be worth describing at all.[41] At Venice, the procedure was standard – essentially a package deal. Pilgrims would sign a contract with a ship's patron and purchase supplies for the sea journey to Jaffa. These contracts and related lists of supplies make frequent appearances in written pilgrimage accounts, and while they tend to cover much of the same ground they provide vivid insight into the realities and dangers of the sea voyage, as well as some individual details. Although the ship's patron was to provide the pilgrims with two hot meals a day, other food (including live chickens), utensils, changes of money, and bedding were necessities that they were to provide for themselves. Wey also advises his readers to bring laxatives, and to ensure that they pack enough wine – beyond Venice, its quality and availability might vary, but it would be uniformly expensive. Breydenbach includes a contract clause stating that the ship's patron is not to appropriate the possessions of dead pilgrims, and Harff lists all the clothing purchased for his travels.[42] The ensuing sea route exhibited even less variety than the land journey through Europe. Harff was alone amongst our four pilgrims in sailing to Alexandria, in order to visit Sinai before Jerusalem, but even so his journey followed the standard pilgrim route through the Mediterranean, via Poreč, Dubrovnik, Corfu, and Crete.[43] When his ship then aimed for Egypt, it was blown off course by a storm, and ended up in Rhodes, from where it set out again for Alexandria, this time successfully.[44] From Rhodes, other Jerusalem pilgrims would sail via Cyprus and disembark at Jaffa, where there might be bureaucratic delays: Thomas Larke's party was made to wait on board their ship for a week before receiving permission to land, and when they disembarked they were held for more than

41 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 54.

42 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 54–62; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 4–7; Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 4v–7v; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 57–59.

43 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 59–68. Harff's sailing to Alexandria and visiting Sinai before Jerusalem was not unique: Nicole Chareyron, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. Donald W. Wilson (New York, 2005), 5–6.

44 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 69–70, 76.

a day in a stinking cave.[45] When the time came to proceed, there would be a scramble to hire a mule or donkey, as the worst animal cost just as much as the best,[46] and was the only means of transport onwards via Ramla to Jerusalem, where the pilgrimage itself really began.

We do not see much trace of the realities of fifteenth-century Jerusalem in pilgrimage accounts. It was a city of contradictions: as a centre of pilgrimage, it was a sacred city of the utmost importance to Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, but in worldly terms it was 'a peripheral city of little political and administrative importance; a provincial town',[47] part of the Mamluk Sultanate (from 1263), and ruled from Cairo.[48] Pilgrims therefore routinely came into contact with individual Mamluks, and sometimes reported on these experiences – at least as far as they occurred separately from actual visits to the holy places. Mamluks were high-ranking – though unfree – soldiers, generally enslaved at a young age. If, when they were enslaved, they were non-Muslims, they were converted. By the late fourteenth century, most Mamluks were Circassians, from the Caucasus,[49] but both Harff and Breydenbach encountered Mamluks of German origin during their travels,[50] and made much of Mamluks' status as 'renegade Christians'.[51] Unsurprisingly, therefore, late-medieval Jerusalem was overwhelmingly Muslim – amongst its six thousand early-fifteenth-century inhabitants were just one hundred Christian families and two hundred Jewish families.[52] The architecture surrounding them was a mishmash of styles erected by the Crusaders, Saladin, and the Mamluks themselves. Despite the surviving older buildings, enough distinctively Mamluk architecture was constructed in Jerusalem to give an appearance consistent with other cities in the Sultanate,[53] yet pilgrims do not tend to comment on the foreignness of contemporary Jerusalem or, indeed, on the fact that, after a Bedouin attack in 1480, the city was partially ruined.[54] Afterwards, it nonetheless remained under Mamluk rule for a further thirty-seven years, until the Ottoman takeover in 1517.[55]

That Christianity's holiest city was under Muslim control caused a certain

45 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 15–16.

46 Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 7; MS Bodl. 565, fol. 7r.

47 Ora Limor, 'Jerusalem', in *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*, ed. David Wallace (Oxford, 2016), 218.

48 Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (New York, 2011), 288.

49 Andrew James McGregor, *A Military History of Modern Egypt: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Ramadan War* (Westport and London, 2006), 14–15.

50 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 86; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 590.

51 For example, 'eyn verleuchner crist' (Harff) or 'die verlaugetten cristen' (Breydenbach): von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 85; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 150.

52 Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 296.

53 Nimrod Luz, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East* (Cambridge, 2014), 48, 68.

54 Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 300.

55 Zayde Antrim, 'Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods', in *Routledge Handbook*

amount of anguish amongst pilgrims, not least to Bernhard von Breydenbach, who devoted a great deal of his account to the perceived errors of the inhabitants of the Holy Land,[56] but the Mamluk rulers of Jerusalem were well aware of the economic advantages brought by Christian and Jewish pilgrims, and tended not to interfere with them.[57] While all four of our pilgrim authors do make at least passing reference to the Mamluk governance of the Holy Land, the descriptions of their pilgrimages are shaped far more by the Franciscan custodians of the holy places, who had, by this point, developed a regimented pattern of pilgrimage, ensuring that the thousands of European pilgrims who descended on Jerusalem each year were met with a uniform experience – an experience that they could take back home with them. The Franciscans had been granted the role of official custodians of the holy places in Jerusalem by Pope Clement VI in 1342.[58] The pilgrimage, as they developed it, endured for almost two hundred years (c.1350–1530), and the sites to be visited, the order in which they were seen, the way in which they were described, the relevant liturgy in each place, and the routes between them were common to western pilgrims.[59] This is why William Wey could inform his readers with great certainty 'of the different holy places *to be* visited by pilgrims, and their names' (my italics).[60] Pilgrimage sites were organised into different groups – on Mount Sion, in the Valley of Josaphat, or within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, for example. Pilgrims would generally first visit holy places on Mount Sion near to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and then spend a night locked within the church itself, following their Franciscan guides around the relevant sites within, all concerned with the crucifixion (including Golgotha itself), the resurrection, and its immediate aftermath.[61] The next day, these guides took them out through Jerusalem, following Christ's steps in reverse to Pilate's house, sometimes passing sites they had already seen, and then going

on Jerusalem, ed. Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian (London and New York, 2019), 103.

56 See Chapter 2.

57 Limor, 'Jerusalem', 224. This did not preclude harassment from Jerusalem's ordinary inhabitants, nor were the pilgrims themselves necessarily well behaved: Sebag Montefiore, *Jerusalem*, 297–99.

58 Kathryn Blair Moore, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2017), 118.

59 Tsafra Siew, 'Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage Route at the Holy Mountains of Varallo and San Vivaldo', in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden and Boston, 2015), 119.

60 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 19v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 30.

61 William Wey's party seem to have spent their night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre after their other pilgrimages. Although they came to the outside of the Church while visiting sites on Mount Sion, he states that permission would not be given to enter at that time. While he presents this as a standard occurrence, it does not appear to be so from the other three accounts: Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 38r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 60.

on to the Valley of Josaphat, where they were shown the site of St Stephen's martyrdom, a site said to be the location of a bridge crossed by the Queen of Sheba, which was made from the wood of the cross, and the tomb of the Virgin Mary, and finally the place where Christ prayed on the night of the Last Supper, which brought them to the various pilgrimage sites at the Mount of Olives. Here the pilgrims visited further sites associated with Gethsemane, Mary's Assumption into Heaven, and Christ's Ascension – and witnessed from a distance places they were not allowed to visit, including the Dome of the Rock, which they knew as the Temple of Solomon. The itinerary was legitimised by the assertion that it was the route taken daily by the Virgin Mary after Christ's death and resurrection – a fifteenth-century formalisation of a tradition that had existed in some form since the fifth century.[62] Pilgrims tended also to travel the short distance to Bethlehem, in order to visit the holy sites there. Some – like Bernhard von Breydenbach and Arnold von Harff – chose to visit St Catherine's Monastery in Sinai as well. This required the signing of an additional contract and, naturally, further payment – twenty-three extra ducats, to be paid in half-instalments in Jerusalem and Gaza, and two ducats for the contract itself.[63] Visiting Sinai was risky as well as expensive: Harff's party left two members to die in the desert en route,[64] while Cristoforo Pallavicino, a Milanese nobleman and a kinsman of Guylforde's, dared go no further than Cairo in his attempt to reach Sinai, because he was unable to find safe conduct for the 'dangerous' journey across the desert.[65] He subsequently joined Larke's pilgrim group in Jerusalem.

For those pilgrims whose visit to Sinai followed their visit to Jerusalem, the route home led them onwards from St Catherine's Monastery through the desert to Cairo, and ultimately to Alexandria, where they would board a ship and return to Venice. Most pilgrims, however, would go back the way they came, travelling from Jerusalem via Ramla to Jaffa, and then by sea to Venice. The return journey was often more difficult than the outward voyage, as it tended to take place during the autumn, when the weather turned. Breydenbach's party, for example, encountered storms that hindered their passage around Cape Maleas. The sailors blamed the pilgrims, accusing them of having caused the bad weather by stealing an unspecified object from the Holy Land, or taking water from the Jordan.[66] Larke and his fellow travellers also endured rough seas on their return journey, which they endeavoured to calm by vowing a pilgrimage to Our Lady of Loreto. The experience of the return journey had evidently put them off any further travels of their own, as the vow was to be fulfilled by collecting enough money to send another

62 Siew, 'Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage', 119–20.
63 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 538.
64 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 119.
65 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 46.
66 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 644.

pilgrim in their names.[67] Inclement weather of the kind faced by Breydenbach and Larke could easily extend the homeward voyage: Larke's party left Jaffa on 18 September, and arrived in Venice on 25 January,[68] with a long overland journey still ahead of them. The outward voyage, by contrast, had been much shorter in duration (4 July to 18 August). By the time they reached Dover, on 9 March 1507, they had been out of England for 336 days.[69]

Some returning travellers sought to bring their pilgrimage experience back with them to their home countries, and this was increasingly encouraged by the Franciscans who had guided them through the Holy Land. Bringing Jerusalem home could take a physical and visual form, such as a relic or a reconstructed shrine, or a textual form, such as a (quasi-) personal account. Both contributed to the cultural institution of the Franciscan Jerusalem pilgrimage by encouraging participation in it and contemplation of it, but they also allowed the faithful to participate in it without actually having to leave their homes – to become pilgrims in what we would now call a virtual sense. At its core, a virtual pilgrimage is a pilgrimage made imaginatively, which allows pilgrims to access the pilgrimage space and experience, without physically going to the pilgrimage destination in question. It does not require literal travel, or even any kind of movement but, under the right circumstances (such as the receipt of a papal privilege), could provide the same spiritual advantages as a literal pilgrimage, indulgences included. This broad heading of 'virtual pilgrimage' encompasses a range of practices. Kathryn M. Rudy, in her foundational study of the topic, usefully divides virtual pilgrimages into 'stationary pilgrimage devotions', under the heading of 'interiority', and 'somatic pilgrimage devotions', under the heading of 'exteriority'.[70] The former are performed with the help of text and image, but occur entirely within the pilgrim's head; the latter involve some kind of bodily action and may also be text- or image-dependent. It may be helpful to build on Rudy's categorisation by creating a tripartite distinction between forms of virtual pilgrimage: virtual place pilgrimage; physical virtual pilgrimage; and mental virtual pilgrimage. As with many human activities, categories imposed later are inevitably not a perfect fit, and the boundaries between them can be discussed, renegotiated, or blurred. The first two types here might be seen as sub-sections of Rudy's 'somatic pilgrimage devotions', but are distinct enough to be usefully considered separately, the level of interiority increasing steadily as we move towards the third category.

67 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 68.

68 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 78.

69 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 81–82. Breydenbach's return journey from Cairo to Venice was not as extended, lasting from 15 November to 8 January: Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 626, 656.

70 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011), chs II, III.

Virtual place pilgrimage was a possibility for those who did not have formal restrictions on their movement, but lacked the wherewithal, whether financial or otherwise, to travel to far-flung destinations like Jerusalem. Certainly local pilgrimages could fill that gap, and, in this sense, pilgrimage to a site of local devotional significance could overlap with virtual pilgrimage. As the Middle Ages drew on, parish churches increasingly functioned as sites for pilgrimage, in a kind of 'democratisation of shrine promotion', which may be attributable to an increase in pilgrimages to images.[71] More obviously, however, virtual place pilgrimage can refer to large-scale replicas, or other re-creations, such as the churches and chapels based on the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem that were constructed across Europe – a practice that in fact pre-dated the Franciscan custody of the Holy Land shrines.[72] The buildings that make up the church complex of Santo Stefano in Bologna, for example, date from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the charola at the Convento de Cristo in Tomar was also constructed in the twelfth century, as was Cambridge's Round Church or Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[73] But while the Franciscans did not invent the desire to bring Jerusalem home, they sought to influence and regulate it, just as they took control of the pilgrim experience in Jerusalem itself by building on and formalising past tradition. Later reconstructions of Jerusalem in Europe were regularly based on the Franciscan pilgrim experience. This was the case in San Vivaldo in Tuscany, which was entrusted to the Franciscan order in 1500, and where a site of devotion to a local saint was deliberately developed into an international site of devotion to the Jerusalem pilgrimage (according to its specifically Franciscan pattern) through the construction of various chapels to represent sites in Jerusalem.[74] Physical re-creation of pilgrimage could, like this, take place in a replica Jerusalem, though it did not have to happen in such developed surroundings.

In our second category, physical virtual pilgrimage, we see a greater imaginative involvement. At one extreme, virtual pilgrims could aim to represent the physical movement of pilgrimage fairly directly, should they

71 Martin Heale, 'Training in Superstition? Monasteries and Popular Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58/03 (2007), 423.

72 The desire to re-create Jerusalem architecturally at home was not limited to western Christianity. For an overview of re-created Jerusalems in Russian Orthodoxy, see A.D. Simsky, 'The Image-Paradigm of Jerusalem in Christian Hierotopy', *Journal of Visual Semiotics*, 3 (2018), 101–13.

73 Robert G. Ousterhout, 'The Church of Santo Stefano: A "Jerusalem" in Bologna', *Gesta*, 20/2 (1981), 311; Anne J. Duggan, 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Twelfth Century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the Cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcobaça and Tomar', *Portuguese Studies*, 14 (1998), 11; Historic England, 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge – 1126260', *Historic England* <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1126260> [accessed 18 April 2019].

74 Siew, 'Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage', 116.

choose. This might take the form of walking the full distance to Jerusalem around a cloister, just as people in the twenty-first century might cross the Atlantic on a rowing machine, or climb Everest on a stepper. This approach to virtual pilgrimage, with something approximating the physical exertion of the literal practice, gives us an indication of one of the key groups of people who became virtual pilgrims: devout and with time, but without the ability to travel anywhere at all, let alone to Jerusalem, namely the members of cloistered religious orders, often nuns. Equally, though, a convent-bound virtual pilgrimage did not require its participants to walk the full distance of the real thing – covering a small number of steps could stand in for long-distance travel, just as, in the previous category, a replica Jerusalem can stand in for the real thing. In either case, a virtual pilgrimage was frequently aided by external stimuli, such as texts, images, or other re-creations or representations of the pilgrimage destination. For members of religious orders, this would be within the monastic complex, for the laity or those who were not enclosed, perhaps in a local church.[75] At St Katherine's Convent in Augsburg, for example, the nuns commissioned images of the main pilgrim churches in Rome at various locations within the convent. By means of a papal privilege, they were able to obtain the indulgences associated with these churches by walking between the images and meditating upon them.[76]

Perhaps the most enduring practice within the category of physical virtual pilgrimage is what would become the Stations of the Cross. While it shares features in common with virtual place pilgrimage, and while there are particular installations that exist in specific locations, the Stations of the Cross ultimately lacks ties to a single place, and can be performed anywhere. By the late-medieval period, again at the instigation of the Franciscans, proto-versions of this devotion were becoming popular in Europe, clearly related to the kind of experience available in San Vivaldo or somewhere similar, but far more widely available. Movement, aided by visual stimuli, is an integral part of this virtual pilgrimage practice, though it can require very few steps to be

[75] The distinction here between the first and second categories is subtle, and is really a question of the type and focus of engagement, particularly *where* the virtual pilgrimage takes place: the church as a destination *to* which one travels, for example, versus contemplation of, and movement between, a collection of Jerusalem-themed images *within* a space. Miyako Sugiyama examines the role images in local churches could play in a virtual pilgrimage to Rome by focusing on Dutch panel paintings from the turn of the sixteenth century: Miyako Sugiyama, 'Performing Virtual Pilgrimage to Rome: A Rediscovered Christ Crucified from a Series of Three Panel Paintings (ca. 1500)', *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 132/4 (2019), 159–70.

[76] Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60/01 (2009), 45–47. See also Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Jerusalem behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares' Convent at Villingen', *The Mediaeval Journal*, 3/2 (2013), 1–38.

actually taken. It involves walking between and meditating upon images or shrines representing events on Christ's journey from Pilate's house to Calvary – as pilgrims had been doing in Jerusalem itself for centuries and as enclosed orders were doing in their convents.[77] A small amount of movement stands in for something greater, but is an integral part of the experience – even stationary participants are watching movement in real time.

Lastly we have mental virtual pilgrimage, Rudy's interior, stationary category. This is a largely text-based practice, in which the pilgrim author becomes a kind of idealised guide to the pilgrimage he or she has literally made himself or herself, comparable with the group leaders who have always chaperoned pilgrims, past and contemporary, on their physical journeys.[78] A surprisingly broad range of texts could be used for this purpose. Ordinary personal accounts of pilgrimage were an obvious resource,[79] but even works like Mandeville's *Book*, which only partially engaged with pilgrimage, were taken up by virtual pilgrims.[80] There were also works written specifically in order to facilitate a virtual pilgrimage. Felix Fabri, for example, wrote a German-language description of his own pilgrimage, *Die Sionpilger*, specifically for use in mental virtual pilgrimage by religious sisters. While cloistered members of religious orders, such as those for whom Fabri was writing, are the most obvious candidates for mental virtual pilgrims, the members of this category do not form a homogenous group. We can exclude those audience members whose interest was simply in tales of foreign lands – a nonetheless important audience for pilgrimage accounts – but we should include those armchair travellers whose interest in pilgrimage writings was devotional but not all-encompassing. They might have meditated prayerfully on the holy places, but not have envisioned themselves as participants in a full-scale imagined pilgrimage, or sought to obtain indulgences. In this group were the kinds of virtual pilgrims described by Kathryn Hurlock, those unable to read themselves, but who listened to pilgrimage accounts being recounted aloud. In Hurlock's Welsh context, virtual pilgrimage could be a family or community affair, as people gathered to hear performances of

77 The modern number and selection of stations was not fixed until the eighteenth or nineteenth century: F. L. Cross, ed., 'Stations of the Cross', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn, ed. E.A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), 1538–39. Wey's account features the first documented use of the term 'stations' to describe the pilgrim stops in Jerusalem: a pilgrimage 'ad loca Stacionum': Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005), 360; Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 37v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 60.

78 For more on this understanding of pilgrim authors, see Yvonne Friedman and Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, 'Pilgrimage Guides to the Holy Land: Past and Present', *Journeys*, 18/1 (2017), 49–50.

79 Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 53–54.

80 Matthew Coneys, 'Travel Writing, Reception Theory and the History of Reading: Reconsidering the Late Middle Ages', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22/4 (2018), 357.

poetic accounts of pilgrimage given by returned pilgrims known to them. This oral transmission of virtual pilgrimage might even form a framework for subsequent generations. This group of mental virtual pilgrims would typically be lay people.[81] Virtual pilgrims in religious orders were more likely to approach the activity with the utmost commitment, both in terms of time and concentration. Rudy gives the example of Sister Truyde Schutten of Diepenveen, who proposed a virtual pilgrimage to Rome. The logistics of the pilgrimage were given intense consideration, including the number of days to be spent – virtually – in Rome.[82] Entirely mental substitutes for physical movement were needed here, and Sister Truyde's means of travel was to be fifty *Ave Marias* recited per day. Mental virtual pilgrimage at its most intense was understood to have an almost literal capacity to remove pilgrims from their environment, and to facilitate a real access to other places, spaces, and times.[83] In other words, it could be no less serious a commitment than any other type of pilgrimage.

The Franciscan influence was felt in every shade of virtual pilgrimage. Once the Custody of the Holy Land was well established, pilgrimage to a nearby Jerusalem chapel, participation in the Stations of the Cross, or in any kind of virtual pilgrimage conducted with the aid of an account written by a recent traveller to the Holy Land all admit the virtual pilgrim to a Franciscan Jerusalem brought home.[84] William Wey engaged with all three categories of virtual pilgrimage on his return to England and, naturally, it was the Franciscan pilgrimage that he brought back, firstly in the form of the Holy Sepulchre chapel that he built in Edington, and that he filled with souvenirs of his journeys to Jerusalem. Many of these emphasised another kind of physicality of the pilgrimage beyond movement – aspects of Jerusalem literally relocated to Wiltshire. Amongst them were relics Wey had gathered himself (mostly stones from holy sites); a map of the Holy Land; and replicas of places around Jerusalem made out of boards. But Wey was not content

81 Kathryn Hurlock, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c.1100–1500* (New York, 2018), 149–50.

82 Kathryn M. Rudy, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent*, 121–23.

83 For a detailed analysis of the possibilities offered in this area by Fabri's *Sionpilger*, see Kathryne Beebe, 'Journey, Geography, and Time in Felix Fabri's Sionpilger', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 93/4 (2019), 431–48. See also Anthony Bale and Sebastian Sobecki's introduction to Bridget of Sweden's *Revelations* for the 'time-travel' possibilities afforded by virtual pilgrimage: Anthony Bale and Sebastian Sobecki, eds, *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford, 2018), 151.

84 Bianca Kühnel provides a detailed study of European re-creations of Jerusalem, such as Holy Sepulchre chapels, in the context of virtual pilgrimage, anchoring them in an increase in devotionalism from the twelfth century onwards, but noting the importance of the Franciscan custodians of the Holy Land, particularly in the formalisation of the Stations of the Cross: Bianca Kühnel, 'Virtual Pilgrimages to Real Places: The Holy Landscapes', in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, Proceedings of the British Academy, 175 (Oxford, 2012), 243–64.

with a simple physical re-creation of Jerusalem. Under the heading 'other goods belonging to the sepulchre', he lists a book – his own pilgrimage account – and it, like the other items in his bequests, must 'not be removed from the Chapel of the Sepulchre'.[85] Inside the physical manifestation of Jerusalem brought back to England, a virtual place pilgrimage, Wey places a detailed textual manifestation of the Franciscan pilgrimage that provided all the information necessary, either for a physical virtual pilgrimage, perhaps indicated by his interest in precise distances and measurements, or for a mental virtual pilgrimage. With his belt and braces approach, he provides for all virtual pilgrims. Wey's replica Jerusalem notwithstanding, however, the virtual pilgrimages treated from here onwards will be text-driven. These belong to the second and third categories of virtual pilgrimage, which tend to be more developed than virtual place pilgrimage, minimising the potential for external distraction, and requiring more mental and imaginative commitment.[86]

Wey was hardly the first pilgrim author. He, Breydenbach, Harff, and Larke were participating in a long tradition of pilgrimage writing beginning with the earliest known account of pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which was written by Egeria, a female pilgrim, in the fourth century. During the period of interest here (c.1450–1520),[87] as pilgrimage writing became a much more common practice,[88] pilgrimage accounts themselves became complex texts,[89] which were far more than guidebooks, and which collectively formed a hybrid literary genre.[90] Between 1480 and 1522, barely a year passed for which we do not have a surviving account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage,[91] but the increase in production of pilgrimage writing did not occur equally across Europe. By far the greatest number of extant late-medieval Jerusalem pilgrimage accounts are of German origin. About ninety such accounts survive from the period 1460–1530, in comparison to around fifteen by French authors, and even fewer of English origin. While we will never know how many English pilgrimage accounts have been irretrievably lost, it has

85 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 2v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, xxix–xxx.

86 Rudy goes so far as to describe the English and Latin pilgrimage accounts contained in Oxford, Queen's College, MS 357 as eliminating the need for any physical travel: Rudy, 'An Illuminated English Guide to Pilgrimage in the Holy Land: Oxford, Queen's College, MS 357', in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, Proceedings of the British Academy, 175 (Oxford, 2012), 219.

87 For a list of selected pilgrimage accounts from Germany and England during the period 1450–1520, see the Appendix.

88 Ganz-Blättler, *Andacht und Abenteuer*, 40.

89 Claudia Olk, *Reisen und Erzählen: Studien zur Entwicklung von Fiktionalität in narrativen Reisedarstellungen der englischen Literatur in Spätmittelalter und Renaissance* (Trier, 1999), 39.

90 See Chapter 1.

91 Jyri Hasecker, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem* (Göttingen, 2008), 34.

been suggested that the comparatively small amount of English pilgrimage writing is a result of both a relative lack of interest in the genre (especially once the Reformation got under way) and of Crown policy restricting long-distance travel by noble subjects.[92]

Pilgrimage writing depended on works that had gone before. Although Breydenbach and Harff were operating within a geographically specific literary context in which pilgrimage writing was a more popular practice than was familiar to Wey and Larke, these latter two were not the only English people engaged in it. Indeed, it was an Englishman named Saewulf who, around 1102, produced one of the first European accounts of the Palestine pilgrimage after the First Crusade conquest of Jerusalem.[93] Furthermore, in addition to the relatively small number of pilgrimage accounts produced by other English pilgrims, Wey and Larke had access to many of the same widely circulated Latin texts as Harff and Breydenbach. While Larke was able to make use of the mass-produced works that flooded into England via the Europe-wide trade in printed Latin books, it is also clear that Wey made use of a variety of manuscript sources when writing his account, many of which may have been in the library at Mount Sion in Jerusalem, but plenty of which are equally likely to have been available to him at home in England, perhaps through his connections with Syon Abbey, where there was a substantial library.[94] Reflecting the increasing complexity of pilgrimage writing, pilgrims made use of a wide range of theological texts, including, but not limited to, works by Bridget of Sweden,[95] Jerome,[96] Pope Leo the Great,[97] Robert Holcot,[98] Bede,[99] Paul of Burgos,[100] Peter Alfonsi,[101] Ambrose,[102] and Vincent of Beauvais.[103]

Texts specifically relating to travel were, naturally, key sources for pilgrims but, just as with theological writings, pilgrim writers did not limit themselves to contemporary material. The Italian friar Odoric of Pordenone (1286–1331) wrote a description of his travels in China, parts of which found their way into various late-medieval pilgrimage accounts, including those of Wey and

92 Hasecker, *Die Johanniter*, 29–30.

93 Peter Damian-Grint, 'Sæwulf', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24468> [accessed 18 April 2019].

94 These connections were significant enough to him that he left a book of his sermons to Syon Abbey: Summerson, 'William Wey'.

95 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 17r–17v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 26–27.

96 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 17v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 27; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 42–46, 482–84.

97 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 18r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 28.

98 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 33v–34r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 54.

99 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 34r–34v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 55.

100 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 382–94.

101 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 318–34.

102 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 480–82.

103 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 292–314.

Harff. Harff, whose account strays far from the pilgrimage beaten track, was particularly dependent on other travel and geographical writing, also making use of Marco Polo's late-thirteenth-century *Book of the Marvels of the World* and Ptolemy's second-century *Geography*, which had experienced a surge of interest in Europe after its translation into Latin in 1406.[104] By far the most influential text of this kind, however, was John Mandeville's *Book*, or *Mandeville's Travels*. The *Book* is not only relevant to Harff, Wey, and Larke, all of whom made significant use of the work,[105] but is integral to late-medieval pilgrimage writing as a whole – and not simply in terms of the number of accounts that drew on Mandeville, but also for what the use of this work tells us about perceptions of the Holy Land as a textual and conceptual space.

Mandeville's *Book* is purportedly the first-person description of a knight's pilgrimage to the Holy Land and his further travels in the East. By the 1360s, only a few years after its first appearance, the text, in manuscript, 'was being read widely, by secular and religious audiences, in England, France, and the Low Countries'. It therefore circulated initially in French, Anglo-French, and English, but was rapidly translated into various vernaculars and transmitted widely in manuscript – there are around three hundred surviving manuscripts and fragments of the text, including, by 1415, two separate German translations, those of Otto von Diemeringen and Michael Velser. When Mandeville's *Book* began to appear in print, around 1470 (first in Dutch), therefore, its popularity was already longstanding. The first German-language prints appeared almost simultaneously: Velser's translation was printed in Augsburg by Anton Sorg in 1480, and an edition based on Otto von Diemeringen's translation was printed by Bernhard Richel in Basel either that year or the following, with the first English printed edition appearing, somewhat belatedly, around 1496.[106] Mandeville's depiction of the Holy Land was therefore enormously influential – despite the fact that it was also long out of date by the time of its first appearance, being largely dependent on crusader-era sources, and without reference to the Franciscan pilgrimage.[107] Mandeville's version of Jerusalem

[104] Letts, *Arnold von Harff*, xvi.

[105] Odoric was one of Mandeville's sources, but pilgrims appear to have used his text in addition to Mandeville's This is true of Wey, who mentions Flandrina and Gynglyn, locations referenced by Odoric ,which do not appear in Mandeville, and Harff, whose account draws frequently on both Odoric and Mandeville: Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 80v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 124.

[106] Anthony Bale, ed., *The Book of Marvels and Travels*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford, 2012), xiii, xvi–xvii; Klaus Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen': Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen* (Munich, 1991), 134; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Mandeville, Johannes de', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2015 <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MANDJOH.htm> [accessed 18 April 2019].

[107] Bale, 'ut legi', 204–05. Mandeville also drew on the earlier fourteenth-century pilgrimage account of Wilhelm of Boldensele: Sebastian I. Sobecki, 'Mandeville's Thought of

thus contributed significantly to the development of virtual pilgrimage – to the idea of pilgrimage as a conceptual, rather than a physical, space.[108] The point was not (usually) to use Mandeville as a source for information about the reality of fifteenth-century Jerusalem, for this was not the point of pilgrimage writing in general. By mingling Mandeville's already multi-era, multi-source version of Jerusalem with the experiences of later pilgrims, the textual Jerusalem of the later Middle Ages becomes, as Anthony Bale puts it, 'a multi-layered account of Christian perspectives on sacred space … the Jerusalem we find in western European textual and visual imagery became the perfect simulacrum, a copy whose original had long since vanished, if it had ever existed'.[109] Just as the physical representations of Jerusalem across Europe did not attempt precisely to replicate what was literally in the Holy Land, so the textual Jerusalem did not attempt to describe it. Pilgrims were not primarily interested in the holy places as 'authentic, validated historical object[s]', but in what collective memory had made of them.[110] While there was a certain overlap between the conceptual space and the physical space of Jerusalem, the former was what pilgrims were aiming to describe when they copied from or drew on Mandeville's description of Jerusalem – not least among them, Wey, Harff, and Larke. And the textual Jerusalem they created, while it owed much to Mandeville, was so widespread that it is also evident in the writings of pilgrims who, like Breydenbach, do not appear to have drawn on him, but on other widely available sources.

The textual Jerusalem of late-fifteenth-century pilgrimage accounts was, indeed, not simply the result of each pilgrim using his or her individual experiences to update Mandeville, nor even of their drawing on texts available during their stay in Jerusalem. It was more complex than that. Pilgrims frequently made use of other contemporary pilgrimage accounts when writing their own, particularly once print made these accounts more widely available. Wey's work, as we have seen, appears to have been reused in Wynkyn de Worde's *Information for Pilgrims*, while parts of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* resurface in both Arnold von Harff's and Thomas Larke's accounts. Breydenbach was himself indebted to numerous other authors, including recent pilgrims, such

---

the Limit: The Discourse of Similarity and Difference in "The Travels of Sir John Mandeville"', *The Review of English Studies*, 53/211 (2002), 331.

108 Matthew Coneys has drawn attention to an Italian tradition of encouraging readers to make use of Mandeville in their own imagined pilgrimage itinerary, beginning with a 1469 manuscript (London, British Library, MS Additional 41329) produced in Padua: Matthew Coneys, 'Real and Virtual Pilgrims and the Italian Version of the "Book of John Mandeville"', *Viator*, 49/1 (2018), 244–48.

109 Bale, 'ut legi', 208.

110 Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34 (Cambridge, 1998, repr. 1999), 42. Carruthers's observations about early pilgrims (no later than Jerome) are no less relevant to the fifteenth-century pilgrims discussed here.

as Hans Tucher, whose account was printed in 1482,[111] while Larke's account was soon reused by at least two other English pilgrims: Richard Torkington and Robert Langton.[112] There was also potential to draw on the work of one's own travelling companions, especially if a party contained more than one pilgrim author. There were, for example, at least four on Breydenbach's 1483 pilgrimage: Breydenbach himself, Felix Fabri, Konrad Beck, Georg von Gumppenberg, and Paul Walther von Guglingen. Breydenbach made use of Guglingen's work, and Fabri, in turn, made use of Breydenbach's. Late-medieval pilgrimage writing, therefore, was dependent on a complex literary backdrop, influenced by both utterly up-to-date and long-established – indeed by this point, outmoded – writings, in order to create a textual and conceptual Jerusalem informed by the contemporary Franciscan pilgrimage, and yet removed from the historical time and physical space in which that pilgrimage actually operated. This 'meme' Jerusalem enabled virtual pilgrims to participate in the Holy Land pilgrimage in a way that was at least as real and true as being physically present – for a pilgrim travelling imaginatively can be quite as present in a conceptual space as a pilgrim travelling literally, if not more so.[113] And as the 'meme' Jerusalem existed in textual form far more comprehensively than in any physical reconstruction, pilgrimage accounts were an essential tool for the practice of virtual pilgrimage.

As we have heard, it was not necessary for an account to be specifically written for virtual pilgrims in order for it to be of use to them. A virtual pilgrim could make use of the most basic pilgrim guide in order to visualise the journey. Neither Wey nor Breydenbach, Harff, nor Larke, primarily had virtual pilgrims in mind, and yet each of them, to differing degrees, makes provision for the non-literal traveller seeking to enter the unreal, consistent Jerusalem. This is clearest in Wey's *Itineraries*, the only account to describe more than one visit to the Holy Land. On his second pilgrimage, rather than serve up a rewritten version of his account of his 1458 visits to the holy places, Wey states simply that events were exactly as in the previous itinerary.[114] This does not mean, though, that the 1458 visits to the holy places appear only once – in fact they are repeated on several occasions. Firstly, in English rhyming verse and then in Latin hexameters, Wey demonstrates that the pilgrim itinerary will always be the same when it comes to the places visited,

[111] Randall Herz, ed., *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480): Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* (Wiesbaden, 2002).

[112] W. J. Loftie, ed., *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517* (London, 1884); E. M. Blackie, *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (London, 1924). For further details, see Chapter 4.

[113] Anthony Bale appropriates the term 'meme' to describe this tradition of representation of Jerusalem: Bale, 'ut legi', 208.

[114] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 60r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 96.

and the order in which they are encountered. The order is so significant that Wey uses the hexameters as mnemonics to remember it.[115] Even more significantly, his full Latin account of the visits is repeated in personalised and depersonalised forms, in the past and in the future. By using the same words, and simply changing the tense, Wey makes clear that what future pilgrims *will* do is precisely what his own pilgrim group *did* do – and more than that, Wey includes himself in the group of future pilgrims by using the first-person plural. Through repetition, the pilgrimage is thus represented in Wey's text as an unchanging reality, permanently accessible to himself and all future pilgrims, including his readers. The Jerusalem pilgrimage is presented essentially as a form of liturgy, housed inside his Jerusalem chapel.

By participating in pilgrimage, whether literal or virtual, therefore, one enters into a single, shared experience. A parallel can be found in the theology of the sacrifice of the Mass: from Christianity's early days, the Eucharist has been understood as a continuation of Christ's sacrifice, rather than simply an imitation of it. It is not a new sacrifice each time, but an entrance into one sacrifice.[116] Without suggesting a parity between pilgrimage and the Eucharist, this provides a background and a precedent for an understanding of an event that is not bound by time and space, but is available outside those limits. There is far more to both pilgrimage sites and to the Eucharist than what is believed to have happened in the first century. In this sense, pilgrims are not interacting with different levels of time,[117] but are participating in a communal and unified liturgical event, dissociated from linear time. Wey, through repetition within his text, emphasises this essential unity of experience. The unchanging 'meme' Jerusalem, though, the liturgical pilgrimage space detached from physical reality, is not unique to Wey, but shared across late-medieval pilgrimage writing, and clearly visible in the writings of Breydenbach, Harff, and Larke.

These four men, strangers to one another, clearly understood themselves as participating in the shared religious culture of the Jerusalem pilgrimage – both physical and written. Yet a thematic analysis of the works, in each case taking one pilgrim author as an exemplum, will reveal divergences between

[115] Despite the focus on order in pilgrimage accounts, nothing stopped virtual pilgrims from organising sites in a more convenient order (for instance, chronological, rather than topological), and they frequently did so: Rudy, 'Queen's College, MS 357', 241. Nonetheless, those pilgrims reporting on their own experiences clearly viewed the order of sites visited as an integral part of the Franciscan pilgrimage.

[116] See, for example, J.-P. Migne, ed., 'Homilia XVII', in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca: John Chrysostom*, 161 vols (Paris, 1862), LXIII, esp. col. 131.

[117] The suggestion that pilgrimage represents an engagement with different levels of time is made in Maria E. Dorninger, 'Memory and Representations of Jerusalem in Medieval and Early Modern Pilgrimage Reports', in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 18 (Turnhout, 2014), 421–28. See especially 425–26.

approaches that can be linked as much to their individual situations as to historical changes, as well as the fact that none of these negate a fundamental consensus about the nature of their task as pilgrim writers. Considering William Wey's complex, at first sight disjointed, *Itineraries* within the context of genre reveals, in Chapter 1, that late-medieval pilgrimage writing is best understood as a hybrid genre. In his use of repetition, Wey gives us a particularly clear example of the unified understanding of pilgrimage as outlined above, but his work also bears witness to the numerous other intersecting genres that inflect pilgrimage writing. Scrutiny of the other three texts in this light shows us that Wey does not stand alone, but that this understanding can be more broadly applied, despite our writers' wholly different uses of form, style, and language. A writer's choice of genre is inherently linked with his or her purpose, and so has a bearing on further thematic analysis of the work in question. Bernhard von Breydenbach's treatment of non-Latin religious groups, and his deliberate strategy of othering, goes far beyond that of the other three pilgrims, and foregrounding this demonstrates, in Chapter 2, not only his purpose in writing, but also the necessity of situating late-medieval pilgrimage writing within its literary context. Breydenbach could not have produced his *Peregrinatio* without recourse to other writers, both pilgrims and theologians. We might expect his extensive discussion of other religious communities to lead to a greater engagement with the realities of fifteenth-century Jerusalem and to a lesser engagement with the conceptual Jerusalem but, in his use of textual space, Breydenbach overtly separates the real world and the constructed literary pilgrimage. Arnold von Harff, our only lay pilgrim, also brings complex intersecting priorities to the pilgrimage, both in its physical and in its textual forms. Medieval pilgrims have been accused, both by their contemporaries and in modern scholarship, of using pilgrimage more as an opportunity for an adventure than as a devotional practice.[118] While our clergy authors certainly dabble in secular interests, Harff shows us conclusively that curiosity and religiosity are not mutually exclusive, and that he is as capable as Breydenbach of delineating the pilgrimage space as separate from his other concerns, though Chapter 3 demonstrates that his reasons and strategies for doing so are entirely different. Harff is conscious of those audience members who were primarily interested in his adventures, and yet he assumes also that they share his religious worldview. Harff was able to make certain assumptions about his audience because, despite making use of printed sources, he did not intend to have his work printed, and therefore presumably anticipated that it would be circulated only amongst his peers. At the same time, though, the spread of print culture was making pilgrimage

[118] Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1976), 4; Anne Hudson, ed., *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406; The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 301 (Oxford, 1993), 63–64.

writing available to a much larger and more diverse audience. This then fed back into the writing process, allowing pilgrim writers to ensure that they were not only drawing on long-established images of Jerusalem, but that they were also maintaining consistency with the accounts of their near contemporaries. Having obtained access to Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* through the Latin book trade, Thomas Larke, as we shall see in Chapter 4, rendered large parts of the text from Latin into English, ensuring that his depiction of the holy places was, in many instances, a word-for-word translation of Breydenbach's, while leaving out what to him was extraneous material, such as the excurses on members of other religions. Larke did not know of the other works that had fed into Breydenbach's descriptions, nor of the fact that his own printed account would be put to similar use in future – though perhaps he suspected the possibility. Through the written and printed word, at least as much as through actually visiting the same places, the conceptual space of Jerusalem remained consistent. The textual representation of the experience across all four texts, which are collectively illustrative of late-medieval pilgrimage writing on a larger scale, is so similar as to represent a single event in which any pilgrim to the Holy Land, whether literal or virtual, can participate.

It is, therefore, by reading these four works together that we are able to see an illustration of the shared religious culture of the late Middle Ages, expressed through the particular prism of the Jerusalem pilgrimage. By analysing these accounts in their literary and historical context, we can understand the full scope of that pilgrimage as unconstrained by time or geography, and accessible to far more people than even those many thousands who were able to make the physical journey to the Holy Land in the decades before the Reformation. And while there were many different aides to assist virtual pilgrims in conducting their pilgrimages, written accounts by those who had made the journey in the earthly world were some of the most important tools in the development of the unchanging conceptual Jerusalem, which was, ultimately, the goal of every pilgrimage. The construction of the textual Jerusalem by pilgrims who had been to the earthly Jerusalem, but who remembered the virtual one in writing, is at the heart of this book.

1

Genre and Purpose: The *Itineraries of William Wey*

What do we mean when we use the term 'pilgrimage account'? In its broadest sense, it refers, obviously enough, to a text that records the events of a pilgrimage, but what else should we expect from a text to which this label has been attached? In that broadest sense, the term encompasses an enormous variety of works, written across a huge chronological span, and in numerous different languages, about many different sites around the world, but 'pilgrimage account', as used here, refers to its late-medieval western European incarnation. Our four primary texts – the writings of William Wey, Bernhard von Breydenbach, Arnold von Harff, and Thomas Larke – treat the same subject and the same locations. They were composed within around forty years of one another (c.1470–1511) by relatively privileged western European men, operating within similar social spheres, and with access to many of the same materials, and yet they diverge from one another in countless ways. Nonetheless, by analysing pilgrimage accounts within a generic framework, it is possible to outline a horizon of expectations for such texts as belonging to an identifiable hybrid genre, a constructively imprecise way to delineate a group of texts that, despite crossing and subsuming other established generic categories and demonstrating a variety of form, structure, transmission, and function, can be most fruitfully understood together.[1] Identification of this hybrid genre then enables us to draw conclusions about the purpose and audience of the works associated with it.

[1] Gerhard Wolf uses the term 'hybride Gattung' in this sense when discussing fourteenth- and fifteenth-century travel writing. Any generic categorisation he views as necessarily vague ('der Gattungsbegriff [muss] notwendigerweise unscharf bleiben'): Gerhard Wolf, 'Deutschsprachige Reiseberichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Formen und Funktionen einer hybriden Gattung', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, III: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin and Boston, 2012), vi–viii.

The reason for investigating genre is therefore not as a system of classification but as a means of understanding texts, and thus of understanding both composition and (anticipated) reception. These are key issues for pilgrimage writing – what were our pilgrim writers trying to achieve? How did they go about it? How did their audience use the texts? In attempting to answer these questions, it is best to begin with the *Itineraries of William Wey*, since of our four texts here it is the most generically complex, containing a high level of hybridity, and presenting the same experience in multiple forms.[2] This variety of presentation raises the question of how to conceptualise Wey's book: is it really one text, or is it better understood as a miscellany? What can a generic consideration reveal about Wey's understanding and conceptualisation of pilgrimage, or how he wished to represent himself and his experiences? All of this has an impact on the question of how he related to his audience. And while the hybrid nature of Wey's *Itineraries* is striking, situating it within the context of late-medieval pilgrimage writing, as exemplified by the writings of Breydenbach, Harff, and Larke, reveals that hybridity is integral to the genre of pilgrimage account. These texts were compiled with reference to a wide variety of other works, only some of which can themselves be categorised as pilgrimage accounts. Pilgrimage accounts are, therefore, necessarily inflected by multiple other genres, and by looking below the surface at the range of intersecting genres present within a single pilgrimage account – particularly one as generically rich as Wey's – these kinds of questions can be explored more fully.

To answer these questions, it is necessary to conceptualise genre as broadly as possible, and not to constrain it within falsely narrow boundaries. That 'even basic facts about medieval literary theory remain obscure' does not preclude a theoretical examination of the variety of intersecting genres represented in medieval writing about pilgrimage,[3] but it does mean that any modern framework of genre theory must be applied carefully, in order to avoid anachronisms. In the case of William Wey, a man apparently used to the manual task of writing, but not to composing, it goes without saying that there is no modern conscious awareness of genre at play. Equally, the rigid rules concerning genre to which classical texts adhered are therefore

[2] There is a distinction between 'genre', as determinable by external features, such as intended audience and purpose, and 'text type', which is determined by internal characteristics, such as lexical or grammatical features: David Y. W. Lee, 'Genres, Registers, Text Types, Domain, and Styles: Clarifying the Concepts and Navigating a Path through the BNC Jungle', *Language Learning & Technology*, 5/3 (2001), 38. Both genre and text type are relevant to Wey's work, but analysis reveals that, in his case, text type is generally subordinate to genre.

[3] Hans Robert Jauss, 'Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature', in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff, trans. Timothy Bahti (Harlow, 2000), 127.

also not a factor, despite continuing recognition of classical genres in the Middle Ages.[4] Given that, in any case, adherence to classical genres was neither straightforward nor consistent in the medieval period, scholars have come to the conclusion that it is rarely appropriate to attempt to apply a reconstructed medieval literary-theoretical approach to a text, and that such an approach should be limited to cases in which 'the work in question clearly demands such treatment'.[5] Wey's work does not demand this treatment, nor does that of his fellow pilgrim writers. He trials different approaches as an amateur, but he is not self-consciously experimenting with genre. He does not engage with any kind of theory, but takes advantage of the flexibility his topic allows. To approach his text, and that of other pilgrim writers, with a modern understanding of genre, is to recognise that genres are not 'static, universal categories',[6] while still taking into account a characteristic of literature particular to the Middle Ages – namely that, while the idea of the author is relevant, and was important to the producers and audiences of many medieval texts, the relevance of modern concepts of authorship must be interrogated. Moreover, medieval literature must be analysed both in terms of what makes up a work (text, themes, and content, which must be considered within their historical context), and in terms of the apparent intentions for a text and the way it was actually used.[7]

Given these considerations, and in light of the inherently 'unstable' nature of the concept of genre,[8] theorists of medieval and modern genre theory have frequently found it helpful to conceive of it more along the lines of Wittgenstein's theory of family resemblances than as a system of classification.[9] Wittgenstein considers different kinds of games, asking what they all have in common. Wittgenstein instructs his reader, however, not to take for

4 Jauss, 'Theory of Genres', 133.

5 A. J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, reissued 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 2010), xxxv. For this reason, it is appropriate to use generic terminology not current in medieval literary understanding.

6 David Duff, ed., *Modern Genre Theory* (Harlow, 2000), 4.

7 'Auf der einen Seite dürfen wir den neuzeitlichen Autorbegriff nicht ohne weiteres auf die ältere Literatur übertragen … Auf der anderen Seite ist bei vielen Produzenten und Rezipienten dieser Texte ein nicht selten stark ausgeprägtes Bewußtsein von Autorschaft unübersehbar … Einzelne Texte, Textgruppen [und] literarische Gattungen … wären dann auf mehreren Ebenen … zu beschreiben und zu vergleichen, einerseits genetisch, und das heißt in bezug auf mittelalterliche Literatur vor allem: motiv-, stoff- und textgeschichtlich'; anderseits in bezug auf die Textintention und den Gebrauchskontext: Ralf-Henning Steinmetz, 'Bearbeitungstypen in der Literatur des Mittelalters. Vorschläge für eine Klärung der Begriffe', in *Texttyp und Textproduktion in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen, Manfred Eikelmann, and Anne Simon, Trends in Medieval Philology, 7 (Berlin and New York, 2005), 42.

8 Duff, *Modern Genre Theory*, 1.

9 Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford, 1982, repr. 2002), 41; Jauss, 'Theory of Genres', 131.

granted that these games must have something in common (or they would not otherwise be called 'games'), but to look and see ('schauen') whether they have anything in common. He concludes that all games do not have to have a single common feature, but all individual games must have features in common with at least some other individual games, and the overlapping of these limited common features creates an impression like that in a group portrait of a family: no single feature is shared by everyone, but they clearly all belong together. Their family resemblance is like the strength of a rope, which derives from the overlapping of its fibres, not from the existence of a single fibre that runs from end to end of the rope.[10] While the concept of genre is less self-evident than the concept of a game, the approach is still helpful. It introduces a somewhat looser understanding of genre, which is helpful when considering texts written long before the advent of modern genre theory. Hans Robert Jauss employs this approach to genre in his theory of medieval literature, asserting that literary genres should be understood as historical groups or families, and that generic features represent not a universality, but a generality – which is to say that, within a literary genre, a whole range of features are possible, but not every feature must be present within a text for that text to belong to a given genre – in other words, Wittgenstein's family resemblances approach is precisely applicable to literary genres.[11] This is a particularly fruitful way to consider genre as it relates both to pilgrimage accounts as a hybrid genre in themselves, and to the other intersecting genres associated with pilgrimage writing, including 'guidebook', 'history', 'travel writing', and 'autobiography' (although this list is not exhaustive). Accordingly, we consider what the genres under consideration can tell us about the text. If, rather than assuming that each generic term corresponds to an equivalent category, we follow Wittgenstein's principle and investigate whether they have anything in common, it becomes apparent that each term conveys a different type of information about the text – the same pilgrimage text can be regarded, say, as containing both a guidebook and an autobiography, or as encompassing both travel writing and history, and the two ways of looking at it will reveal different things about it. These different types of information can thus enlighten us as to a text's various purposes and its intended or actual audiences, as well as conveying a certain amount of stylistic information. Concurrent analysis of genre and purpose is then mutually beneficial, each offering insights into the other. The relevant purposes in a pilgrimage writing context can be broadly categorised as *practical*, *instructive*, and *devotional*. This method of examining

[10] 'Sag nicht: "Es *muß* ihnen etwas gemeinsam sein, sonst hießen sie nicht "Spiele" – sondern *schau*, ob ihnen allen etwas gemeinsam ist': Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Philosophical investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1958), paras 66–67 (31–32).

[11] Hans Robert Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1956–1976* (Munich, 1977), 35–36.

the text reveals that, while certain intersecting genres might be more relevant to its *practical* or *instructive* purposes, the *devotional* purpose of the text transcends those genres and creates a kind of unity relevant to the overarching hybrid pilgrimage account genre. By examining our four pilgrimage accounts in this way, with a particular focus on William Wey, it becomes clear that pilgrimage accounts can be understood as forming a Jaussian generic category: their substantial divergences do not outweigh their fundamental family resemblances.

These different purposes require a closer examination, as sites of multi-genre interplay. The *practical* purpose of pilgrimage writing can overshadow its other uses, particularly in twentieth-century criticism, where pilgrimage accounts could be dismissed simply as 'guides', with no content beyond information on how to get to the holy places, and what to do when one arrived.[12] There are, naturally, both English and German works about pilgrimage sites that fit this description,[13] but it is not the case that all purportedly factual pilgrimage-themed writing in the Middle Ages can be dismissed as 'guides'. By the end of the twentieth century, an awareness of the variety present within pilgrimage writing led scholars to suggest that terms like 'pilgrim guides' were best avoided.[14] Arnold von Harff himself made clear that he was more than just a guide,[15] while a cursory glance at the writings of William Wey and Bernhard von Breydenbach illustrates the complex interlocking purposes of pilgrimage accounts in the late-medieval period – and Thomas Larke's text, although the least generically complex of the four, would be of little use as a guidebook, as it also contains the least practical information. A *practical* purpose, however, can certainly be detected across pilgrimage accounts, and most pilgrim writers offer explicit guidance to their audience – particularly when it comes to striking deals with ships' patrons in Venice. Evidently this was a frequent source of problems.

The *instructive* purpose of pilgrimage writing concerns the communication of knowledge beyond practical tips for conducting one's own pilgrimage. Rather

[12] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Amsterdam, 1995), 53.

[13] The *Information for Pilgrims* is one example. See also Nine Robijntje Miedema, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit: Die 'Indulgentiae ecclesiarium urbis Romae' (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar* (Tübingen, 2003). This latter guidebook, attributed to Stephan Planck, was frequently reprinted, and Miedema and Letts note Harff's probable use of it: Malcolm Letts, ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (London, 1946), xviii–xx; Miedema, *Rompilgerführer*, 16, n.3.

[14] 'Der häufig zur Kennzeichnung dieser Texte gebrauchte Terminus "Pilgerführer' ist angesichts der Vielfalt ihrer Erscheinungsformen jedoch eine unzulässige Verallgemeinerung und sollte daher vermieden werden': Claudia Olk, *Reisen und Erzählen: Studien zur Entwicklung von Fiktionalität in narrativen Reisedarstellungen der englischen Literatur in Spätmittelalter und Renaissance* (Trier, 1999), 39.

[15] E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), 260.

than ship's provisions or exchange rates, which are primarily of relevance to other pilgrims, this might take the form of ethnographic descriptions of the inhabitants of a particular region, theological argumentation, historical or sociological anecdotes, or accounts of travel beyond the pilgrimage space. This is particularly relevant to the fifteenth century, which has been recognised as a period of development in pilgrimage writing, during which we can see a shift from simple descriptions of the holy places to more sophisticated works that come closer to considering the pilgrimage experience in its entirety, with the journey incorporated into the narrative. Claudia Olk argues that, whereas earlier writing about pilgrimage really was generally limited to a description of the holy places, pilgrimage writing in the fifteenth century built on extant knowledge, adding recommendations and practical advice to the expected features of pilgrimage writing.[16] This certainly represents a development, but by the later fifteenth century, as our four texts show, recommendations and practical advice had been joined by the other types of information just outlined. Rather than serving any *practical* purpose, this represented a real attempt to contribute to knowledge.

There was of course an overtly *devotional* use for pilgrimage writing. The *devotional* purpose is the richest location for generic intersection, partly because it also marks a site of overlap for literal and virtual pilgrimage. Through the accounts of those who have been on pilgrimages to far-flung holy sites, the first of these types of pilgrimage is used as an aid to the second. Many people were unable to participate in place pilgrimage, but, by meditating on holy places, often with the aid of the writings of those who had travelled, they could participate in an imaginary or virtual pilgrimage.[17] In addition to more explicitly *devotional* sections of pilgrimage accounts, virtual pilgrims could also use the more *practical* and *instructive* sections to enrich their own experience, and to enter the pilgrimage space more comprehensively. William Wey's *Itineraries*, which also serves a *practical* and an *instructive* purpose, provides numerous different ways for virtual pilgrims to enter this space. Analysing the text's generic complexity within a Jaussian theoretical framework casts light on this, particularly when evidence about how Wey himself conceived of his work is taken into account.

[16] In contrast to earlier writings, 'die sich in den meisten Fällen auf die Aufzählung der Stationen im Heiligen Land beschränkten, etabliert sich im 15. Jahrhundert eine typisierte Darstellung der Pilgerreise, die auf erworbenes oder überliefertes Wissen aufbaut und neben katalogartigen Aufstellungen auch Empfehlungen und reisepraktische Ratschläge enthält sowie den Reisevorgang in den Bericht integriert': Olk, *Reisen und Erzählen*, 39.

[17] As indicated in the Introduction, we are dealing with physical and mental virtual pilgrimage. The virtual pilgrims in question may or may not have incorporated movement into their pilgrimages, but they did not travel anywhere in a literal sense – virtual place pilgrimage is not a factor.

Genre Intersections in William Wey's *Itineraries*

Titles are the first and indeed sometimes the only explicit commentary on a work available to a modern reader and, as such, they are imbued with immense significance.[18] But modern titles are usually the choice of the author, or at least selected with his or her approval, and can thus generally be relied upon to convey something of the author's intention about his or her work. The title by which William Wey's pilgrimage account is now known, *The Itineraries of William Wey*, is a variation on the title stamped on the manuscript's nineteenth-century binding.[19] There is no indication, whether codicological, palaeographical, or textual, that Wey understood his work collectively in these terms. He did not himself give it a title; instead he described it. At the end of his life, when the work was more or less finished, he referred to it in his bequests as a book 'of materys of Jerusalem'.[20] The Middle English word 'matere' has a number of meanings. In general, it is the substance or subject matter of something, but it often has a specifically literary focus,[21] and perhaps this is how Wey conceived of his work. Literary or not, his description – to modern ears – suggests an exclusive focus on Jerusalem, making no mention of any pilgrimages to Santiago and Rome. Indeed, strictly speaking, it does not mention pilgrimage at all. The defining feature of the work, according to Wey's description, is that it deals with Jerusalem, not that it contains *his* journey to Jerusalem. This corresponds to the understanding, expressed through repetitive description, that all pilgrimages are essentially the same. The later designation 'itineraries', meanwhile, suggests something far less complex than what is contained within the book – a text whose purpose might be entirely *practical*. And it is someone else's commentary, a commentary from another

[18] Wayne C. Booth, *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd edn (Chicago, 1983), 198 n. 25.

[19] Mary Boyle, 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 (c.1470)', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28/1 (2015), 27. It is unclear when *William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land*, the title stamped on the manuscript, became associated with the work. The title *The Itineraries of William Wey* appears on the 1857 Roxburghe Club edition, which predates the binding, and Francis Davey's translation: Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857); Francis Davey, tran., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010). The Bodleian Summary Catalogue gives a descriptive title: 'The three pilgrimages of William Wey, Fellow of Eton college (to St. James of Compostella in 1456, and to Jerusalem in 1458 and 1462), with connected matter, as follows': Falconer Madan and H. H. E. Craster, eds, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1922), II, entry 2351.

[20] As noted above, the manuscript is instead labelled *William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land*: William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470). For Wey's description of his book, see: Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 2v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, xxix.

[21] Regents of the University of Michigan, 'Mătĕr(e (n.)', *Middle English Dictionary*, 2001 <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED27049> [accessed 16 April 2019].

period, with a different understanding of the 'materys' contained within. Wey did not, though, leave his audience without commentary: each section of the work is clearly titled, and each title is a statement of purpose. What the book lacks, beyond Wey's description, is a statement of purpose for itself as a whole: Wey's description was expressed externally. His list of bequests was originally a separate document, only later bound into the manuscript containing his so-called *Itineraries*.[22] The modern title and the medieval description can thus both be understood as external commentaries, but both also look beyond the text's hybridity to make a statement of unity. This assertion of unity can be backed up from a theoretical perspective, taking Armin Schulz's litmus test that the foundational principle of narrative cohesion is variational repetition.[23] In a very literal sense, variational repetition can be said to characterise Wey's whole work.

A closer look at the contents of the *Itineraries* in its manuscript context (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565) makes this clear, and gives some idea of the scale of its complexity. Wey was writing in a monastic setting for a Latin-literate audience, rather than simply for his own purposes of personal recollection. Although only one manuscript witness to the *Itineraries* is now in existence, it is possible that parts of the text were circulated outside the priory.[24] Given that the manuscript is a probable autograph, certain assumptions may be made about authorial intention that would not be possible if the existing manuscript of Wey's text were further removed from its ultimate source,[25] including, therefore, some conclusions about his thought processes and priorities. This is a relatively unusual position for a medieval text. Concerns about the distance between author and reviser are less relevant to the text as a whole, although given the dependence of pilgrimage writing on other works, these concerns cannot be absent, particularly when considering individual segments in their own right.[26] Indeed, given Wey's propensity to rewrite both his own words and those of other people, he must be considered simultaneously as both reviser and author. His manuscript is a considered fair copy, its structure no accident; but, divorced from the visual consistency of the codex itself, the contents can appear lacking in unity, varying widely in form and style. This variety, not to mention the combination of literary

22 Boyle, 'MS. Bodl. 565', 29.

23 'Das Grundprinzip narrativen Zusammenhalts ist die variierende Wiederholung': Armin Schulz, *Erzähltheorie in mediävistischer Perspektive*, ed. Manuel Braun, Alexandra Dunkel, and Jan-Dirk Müller (Berlin, 2012), 322.

24 Two sections in the *Information for Pilgrims* are almost identical to Wey's prose account of exchange rates and his 'preuysyon', suggesting that the text may have been circulated. See E. Gordon Duff, ed., *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London, 1893), fols 7v–13v, 26v–27v.

25 For a detailed description of the manuscript and the hands represented in it, see: Boyle, 'MS. Bodl. 565', 22–36.

26 Steinmetz, 'Bearbeitungstypen', 41. See also Chapter 1, 28, n. 6.

and non-literary approaches, is not uncommon in later medieval English manuscripts, and a mixture of genres is not unusual. Hybridity is a feature of later medieval writing beyond pilgrimage accounts. The London and Lincoln Thornton manuscripts, for example, exhibit similar features to MS Bodl. 565: the former is a '"religious" compilation'; the latter is a miscellany of romances. As is clear from these designations, their contents were deliberately, not randomly, selected. Both manuscripts exhibit generic variety and they are ordered and bound on the basis of the genres contained within. Nonetheless, the Thornton manuscripts are different from Wey's in one particularly significant respect: they were evidently not thought of as single works during the writing process – indeed their quires had a long and separate existence before they were bound together.[27] Wey's manuscript, by contrast, has a consistent appearance; it was written within a fairly short space of time; and the continuation of sections across quires indicates that its order must have been determined as the text was set down. Moreover, despite the generic variation in Wey's manuscript, the writings within it all treat a single subject: one man's pilgrimage(s). Despite its variety, it must therefore be treated as a single work, and not as a miscellany. The table of contents set out in Table 1 attempts to maintain Wey's vision for his work as a single, unified whole, while still emphasising the book's range of form and styles.

As is clear from this overview, the variation within the *Itineraries* does not just concern genre and text type, but also language, which has a direct bearing on the purpose or purposes for which the book was intended. Language was a question that occupied pilgrim writers, and each of our four authors solved the problem differently: Breydenbach by publishing separate German and Latin versions; Harff by choosing to write exclusively in German; and Larke by writing in English, but providing scriptural quotations in Latin.[28] Choice of language was a current concern in both England and Germany. Over the course of the fourteenth century, London English became the predominant literary language in England.[29] English also superseded Anglo-Norman, and in many cases even Latin, as the preferred linguistic choice for writing history. But increased use of the vernacular did not eliminate writing in Latin, which was still the normal language for spiritual works, particularly in monasteries, and as 'the language of the learned and the church', it continued to hold a high status.[30] Wey was writing in a monastic setting, and uses his work for

27 John Finlayson, 'The Contexts of the Crusading Romances in the London Thornton Manuscript', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*, 130/2 (2012), 240–42.

28 See Chapter IV, 182–84.

29 Norman Blake, 'The Literary Language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, II: 1066–1476*, ed. Norman Blake (Cambridge, 1992), 517.

30 Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York, 2004), 140–41.

Table 1. Contents of William Wey's *Itineraries*[i]

	Section	Text Type	Folia	Quires	Other Textual Witnesses (where identifiable)[ii]
1	Contents: List of the contents of the manuscript, clearly in a different hand from the main text, with variation from the divisions suggested within the main text.	List (Latin)	1r	Bifolium	None identified.
2	Bequests. Same hand.	List (English)	2r–2v	Bifolium	
3	Conversion rates: Prose account of conversion rates and advice about money. Main text hand begins.	Prose (English)	3r–4v	I	Wynkyn de Worde's 1500 printing of the *Information for Pilgrims*.
4	Preuysyon: Prose recommendations and practical advice for pilgrims.	Prose (English)	4v–7v	I	
5	Holy Places Verse: Simple English verse of 352 lines, with *aa* rhyme scheme and occasional *abab* (e.g. ll. 95–98). Folia disordered.[iii]	Verse (English)	8r–13v (and 16r)	I–II	Some minor similarities with a verse in Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61 and San Marino, CA, Henry Huntington Library HM 144 (both late fifteenth century).

[i] An earlier version of this table appears in Boyle, 'MS. Bodl. 565', 23–24. The current version appears by permission of the Bodleian Library. There is a list of contents in MS Bodl. 565 on fol. 1r, which diverges in places from William Wey's stated intentions for the division of the text.

[ii] 'None identified' does not imply originality. Itineraries and descriptions of the holy places often followed a similar format, which is crucial to understanding pilgrimage accounts as a genre.

[iii] The original central bifolium has been bound in the position of the external one: Boyle, 'MS. Bodl. 565', 26–28. This has resulted in the English verse being printed in the wrong order by both Bandinel and Francis Davey. See: Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 8–19; Davey, *William Wey*, 33–45. Davey has noted 'a fault' and attempted to correct the order, but has not been successful. A re-transcription of the verse according to the presumable original page order demonstrates that this was the order in which it was written, and Wey had intended to present it.

6	Mnemonics: Heavily abbreviated Latin hexameters for the purpose of remembering the holy places. No title.	Verse (Latin)	14r-16v	II	None identified. It may be that Wey used a format for remembering details familiar from his education.[iv]
7	*Materie*: List of reasons for pilgrimage, including pilgrim itinerary and notable places and relics on the journey.	Prose (Latin) (Impersonal)	17r–34v	III–V	Various: includes references to well-known texts and figures, for example Leo I, but a significant source was the Middle English version of Mandeville's *Travels*.[v] Much of the material in the *Materie* is reused later in the manuscript.
8	1458 Jerusalem Pilgrimage.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	35r–49r	V–VII	Slightly expanded and personalised account of the pilgrim itinerary in *Materia* 8.
9	Towns and distances en route.	Table	49v–50v	VII	Common feature of pilgrimage writing.
10	1462 Jerusalem Pilgrimage. Personalised account of the later pilgrimage.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	51r–64r	VII–VIII	Includes Latin translation of the 'preuysyon' and an account of battles with Turks which Wey claims to have heard from a trustworthy source.
11	Vocabulary, numbers, and phonetic spellings of the alphabet: English, Latin, transliterated Greek, and Hebrew.	Table	64r–76r	VIII–XI	Common feature of pilgrimage writing.
12	Miscellaneous selection of short paragraphs on things of interest loosely connected to the places Wey visited.	Prose (Latin) (Impersonal)	76r–83v	XI–XII	Appears to be compiled of short notes Wey made from other (mostly written) sources during his journey, including Odoric of Pordenone on the cultivation of pepper. Some details used in other sections.

[iv] Davey, *William Wey*, 52–54.

[v] Anthony Bale, '"ut legi": Sir John Mandeville's Audience and Three Late Medieval English Travelers to Italy and Jerusalem', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 38/1 (2016), 215–21.

13	Places on Map: List of places on the map of the Holy Land used by Wey (presumably that mentioned in his bequests). List laid out as prose.	List (Latin)	83v–86r	XII	The corresponding map is assumed to be MS Douce 389, although it cannot have been written by Wey, as Bandinel suggests, since it dates from 1400 or earlier.[vi]
14	Places on Map: Places on map laid out as table.	Table	86r–89r	XII	
15	Distances between places in Holy Land.	List (Latin)	89r–90v	XII	Common feature of pilgrimage writing.
16	Latin-Greek Vocabulary.	Table	91r–91v	XIII	Common feature of pilgrimage writing. A similar word list appears in the *Information for Pilgrims*
17	Indulgences in Rome.	List (Latin)	92r–98r	XIII–XIV	Its ultimate source may be the widely circulated (verse and prose) thirteenth-century *Stations of Rome*.[vii]
18	1456 Compostela Pilgrimage: Account of Wey's first pilgrimage. Change in script.	Prose (Latin) (Personal)	98r–101v	XIV–XIV	None identified.
19	Four-line song with music.	Verse (Spanish)	101v	XIV	Wey identifies this as a song sung by local children. No other transmission identified.
20	Miscellaneous: Life of St James Relics in Compostela Indulgences from Pope in Compostela.	Prose (Latin) Impersonal	102r–105r	XIV	All listed as 'Hec subscripta audivi in Hispannia'. The Life is identified as a letter ('litteram').

[vi] Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, xvi–xix; Falconer Madan, ed., *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford* (Oxford, 1897), IV, entry 21964.

[vii] Christian K. Zacher, 'XIX: Travel and Geographical Writings', in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500*, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1986), VII, 2239.

theological argumentation. It is unsurprising that he would use the scholarly and spiritual *lingua franca* for this purpose.

But Wey did not write exclusively in Latin. It was by no means unusual for medieval works to code-switch between Latin and English. What is unusual here is the definitive switch from one (English) to the other (Latin), without returning, and it begs the question of what distinguishes the English sections from the Latin sections. Thorlac Turville-Petre suggests a possible interpretation in his discussion of early fourteenth-century multi-lingual manuscripts:

> languages were not interchangeable but had different functions, so that certain subjects and styles were more appropriate to Latin than English, or to French than Latin. But [manuscripts] also show that there were considerable areas of overlap, and that distributional patterns depended as much on situation, context, and audience as on subject-matter and style. Above all, they underline the dangers of over-simplifications about social and cultural patterns of language use.[31]

While we must bear in mind the warning about oversimplification, Wey appears to be adhering to this earlier approach to linguistic choice, and to envision, at least to an extent, different functions for the two languages he used – there is no direct Latin equivalent for the simple English verse about the holy places, while the English section is free of theological argumentation. But as Turville-Petre indicates, there are also points of overlap: the 'preuysyon' is appropriate for both languages. Some of Wey's linguistic choices are also likely to be dictated by practicalities, from the miscellaneous short passages, which are likely to have been copied from a variety of extant Latin sources, to the possibility that he used the Latin hexameter format as a tool to remember the holy places because it was a format with which he was familiar from his own education as a tool for learning Latin.[32] Nonetheless, this would still represent a function more appropriate for Latin than English, and thus fit with an understanding of the later Middle Ages as a period in which 'old frameworks came to accommodate new critical interests'.[33]

As Turville-Petre suggests, considerations about the audience can also affect the choice of language, and this is certainly the case here. Only the first three sections of the book are written in English, and English reappears after this point only in lists of vocabulary and a short reported rhyme. As shown in Table 1, the quire division implies that the current order of the text is the order in which it was written: new sections rarely begin at the start of a new quire, meaning that Wey would not have been able to reorder the text once it was

[31] Thorlac Turville-Petre, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996), 181.

[32] Davey, *William Wey*, 52–54.

[33] Rita Copeland and Ineke Sluiter, eds, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475* (Oxford, 2009), 814.

written down. It therefore seems that Wey began to write in English, and then switched into Latin. His rationale for doing so is less clear, hypotheses about the different functions of each language notwithstanding, and it is ultimately not possible to make a conclusive statement about whether the switch was premeditated. There are indications, however, that it was. Most significantly, while the information provided in English is mostly repeated in Latin, it does not necessarily follow the same format or order in which it appears in English. Only the first section, containing information on exchange rates, is not replicated in any form elsewhere, and only the second section, the 'preuysyon', reappears in translation – during the second itinerary. Even so, it is not there titled as a separate section, as it is when it appears in English. The English verse, which functions primarily as a list of places, is followed immediately by a list of places in an appropriate (and entirely different) Latin verse format. It seems that the English section is a summary, in formats appropriate for the vernacular, of certain key points from the rest of the text, and this reading would support the argument that the switch in language is premeditated.[34] In support of this assumption, Wey is relatively methodical in other aspects of his structuring of the text, despite his tendency to repeat himself. Repeated sections of text may represent his only means of reworking it, but more importantly, they demonstrate the importance of reinforcing the pilgrimage experience. Sections are usually titled, and clearly differentiated, which shows a degree of forward planning. It is therefore logical to conclude that Wey made a deliberate decision over his choice of language: those elements that could be appropriately written in the vernacular, and are therefore accessible to a wider audience, are the first three sections. The first and second sections consist almost entirely of practical advice and information; the third provides a list of places in the Holy Land in simple, regular verse. In other words, basic and necessary practicalities, both for travellers and those who wish to imagine a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, are provided in English. There is an explicit indication in the English verse that the audience for these first sections was not necessarily expected to be Latin-literate:

> An hy fro thens a felde ther ys
> Ycleptd ager sanguinis
> But for hem that Latyn lack
> Hyt ys callyd Acheldmac[35]

[34] In the absence of any other manuscript witness, there is no evidence that Wey drafted his *Itineraries* elsewhere and then copied them into what ultimately became MS Bodl. 565, but if that were the case, the switch from Latin to English would be considered and deliberate.

[35] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol 12r (ll. 187–90); Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 15. Given the disordered nature of the quire containing the verse, and the fact that it is printed in an incorrect order in both Bandinel's edition and Davey's translation, line references are

[And nearby there is a field
Called the Field of Blood
But for those who lack Latin,
It is called Akeldama]

In other words, the vernacular section is not simply additional information for the audience of the rest of the book. Wey allows for the possibility that it will be of use to a monolingual audience. Any reader, however, who intended to go beyond the use of the book as an aid to travelling (*practical* and *devotional* purposes), which is to say, the reader who wanted to access personal experiences, historical or geographical anecdotes, or theological discussion (*instructive* purpose), would need to be Latin-literate. This implies that Wey had a broad – and not entirely clerical – audience in mind. While maintaining Latin as the appropriate language for spiritual writing, he ensured that necessary information for pilgrims was easily accessible. This is evidence that Wey considered the purposes of his work when deciding how best to compose it, and it brings us back explicitly to the question of genre. The use of different languages, like the mixture of intersecting genres and text types, illustrates Wey's intention to produce a book with multiple purposes for multiple audiences.

Questions about the composition, structure, and anticipated reception of the *Itineraries*, then, always come back to purpose. It seems that, while writing, Wey was trialling possible solutions in order to identify the optimal form or forms in which to deliver his message to his different audiences in a way that our other three authors are not. Without noticeable change in register, Wey writes in verse and in prose; in Latin and English; in the first, second, and third person; in the past, present, and future tenses. What a simple breakdown like Table 1 above cannot do is assign a genre to each section. Many sections fit loosely into several genres, and the different styles used by Wey can be seen as symptomatic of the fundamental generic hybridity of the *Itineraries*. While labelling a text with the generic term 'pilgrimage account' gives us a certain amount of information about it, if we look at the intersecting alternative genres involved in any one pilgrimage account we can learn a great deal about purpose and audience, and therefore enrich our conclusions about the overarching hybrid genre 'pilgrimage account'. These intersecting alternative genres found within pilgrimage writing can provide information as to the possible overlapping features of pilgrimage writing understood, in Jaussian fashion,[36] as itself a genre. They are also indicative of the complexity of information that an investigation of genre can provide, when it is not understood as a rigid system of classification.

included that indicate the correct order in which the verse should appear, but which is not currently reflected in the manuscript or either published edition.

[36] Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität*, 35–36.

In order to fulfil the *practical* purpose of his account, Wey uses both Latin and English, not to mention several different text types. But even in service of this most basic purpose, we can also see generic variety. The simplest generic term to apply to any of the texts that come under the broad heading of pilgrimage accounts is the guidebook or, to employ a more contemporary term, the information – essentially a means to provide practical information for travellers, but no more. While this remains a reductive way to consider written accounts of pilgrimages as a whole, these works nonetheless often do serve this purpose, even if it is not their sole aim, and the guidebook is one of the genres that most clearly intersect with pilgrimage writing. Wey intends to advise prospective travellers, and he provides *practical* information in various formats recognisable even to the modern traveller as typical of guidebooks, such as the extensive lists of vocabulary provided because 'peregrini ibunt per diuersas patrias, necessarium est vt aliquid sciant de linguis illis, per que possunt petere victualia' [pilgrims travel to different countries, so it is necessary to know something of the language in order to be able to ask for provisions].[37] He also directly addresses recommendations to his audience, advising them in both English and Latin: 'when ye schal yowre covenant take, take goyd hede that the patron be bovnde vn to yow afore the duke'[38] and later, 'si poteritis, scribatis conuentiones factas inter vos et patronum et ponite ante dominos civitatis' [if you can, write down the agreements made between you and the ship's patron and bring it before the city authorities].[39] The *Materie* are particularly useful to consider when tracing the guidebook elements of Wey's *Itineraries*, and setting them within the text's broader generic complexity. They incorporate some of the elements most clearly intended to function as a *practical* guide, but they are also the location of the text's most involved theological argumentation. The first five *Materie* conform to the section title, 'Materie mouentes transire ad terram sanctam' [Reasons to travel to the Holy Land].[40] The second five contain information about what is in the Holy Land. In a sense, the first five *Materie* are incentives to readers to make *practical* use of the second five. Given Wey's decision to depersonalise the information in *Materia* 8 (which deals with places to be visited and indulgences), it is striking that *Materia* 6 (what is to be done on each day of the pilgrimage) is written in the first-person plural.[41] This decision, particularly as the tense of *Materia* 6 is future, creates the impression that the reader will be joining a community of pilgrims, who could be literal or virtual. The information is *practical*: it is not presented as a personal recollection, but as a definite plan. *Materia* 8 is

37 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 64r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 102.
38 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 5r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 4.
39 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 56r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 90.
40 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 17r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 25.
41 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 18v–19v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 29–30.

comprehensively depersonalised,[42] but its length and detail would suggest its origin as the events of Wey's own pilgrimage, even without its later appearance in the 'itinerary of my pilgrimage' with the personal details reinstated.[43] Nonetheless, the inclusion of such a detailed account achieves much the same effect as the use of the first person in *Materia* 6: every pilgrim shares in the same experience. The use of the second person, meanwhile, focuses attention on the audience, and makes it clear that advice is being imparted. *Materia* 9, 'de rebus notabilibus in Terra sancta' [noteworthy things in the Holy Land], is a title which, language aside, might not be out of place in a modern guidebook, and *Materia* 10 concerns the relics to be found in the Holy Land and is, like *Materia* 9, essentially a list. The second half of the *Materie*, then, is clearly intended to be of *practical* use to a specific audience.

Practical information is not solely imparted in a manner typical of the guidebook, as the two examples of religious verse illustrate. These also indicate that text type and genre often work together. The English verse, like the later Latin hexameters, provides a straightforward way for Wey's readers to commit important *practical* information to memory – in both cases a list of pilgrimage sites in order – in a way tailored for a particular audience. The Latin mnemonic verses are directed at Wey's peers with a similar educational history; the English verse uses a simple AABB (etc) rhyme scheme to enable its readers (or hearers) to memorise the holy places in their standard pilgrimage order. Both the Latin and English verses serve an obviously *practical* purpose – they do not feature any kind of meditation or embellishment, but are in many ways glorified lists. The English verse, for example, is noticeably less elaborate than *God that schupe both heuen & helle*, another fifteenth-century verse with some similar lines in Bodleian Library, MS Ashmole 61 and San Marino, CA, Henry Huntington Library HM 144.[44] The overlap between these two verses is not as significant as suggested by the Digital Index of Middle English Verse, but it is evident that in the fifteenth century there was a motivation to render what had become a fixed itinerary for real pilgrims in a simple, popular, vernacular form. In the Latin, meanwhile, the pilgrimage sites and days require heavy abbreviation in order to fit into the hexameter format. It is equally clear, though, that providing *practical* information is not Wey's sole purpose or, indeed, that of pilgrimage accounts in general. Even the first three sections of the text, those written in English, which serve a more obviously *practical* purpose, cannot simply be described as a guidebook, attached to a Latin pilgrimage account. Much of the *Materie* section, written in Latin, also

[42] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 19v–31v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 30–51.

[43] 'itinerarium peregrinacionis mee': Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 35r–49r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 56–79.

[44] Linne R. Mooney and others, 'God that shaped both heaven and hell', *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=1613> [accessed 18 April 2019].

conforms to the guidebook genre. The overlapping *devotional* utility of much of the *practical* material, meanwhile, is also easily detectable, particularly, though not exclusively, in the case of the religious verses, while the first five *Materie* also fulfil an *instructive* purpose for those readers who may or may not themselves intend a pilgrimage of any kind.

Much of this *instructive* purpose, which can also overlap with a work's *practical* purpose, is fulfilled in a way that we might now understand as travel writing. Like pilgrimage writing, travel writing exists in a wide range of forms and intersects with numerous other genres, which has led scholars to question whether it can truly be considered a genre in itself but,[45] like pilgrimage writing, it is helpful to understand it as a hybrid genre. Pilgrimage was a major reason for medieval travel, but this does not require the pilgrimage account to be categorised as a sub-genre of travel writing. Rather, the two are themselves intersecting and related genres – it is not surprising that much writing about travel before the modern period is connected with the practice of pilgrimage.[46] Wey was writing in a world in which Mandeville's *Book*, for example, was widely circulated, a work that represents a textual convergence of pilgrimage and more worldly interests, and which conveys information far beyond what is necessary for a pilgrimage, whatever the nature of that pilgrimage. While Wey did make use of Mandeville, the impact of his *Book* is less noticeable on the *Itineraries* than it is on the work of Arnold von Harff.[47] Wey never forgets or demotes the *devotional* purpose behind his travels, but he also imparts serious detail about the process of travelling to the Holy Land and, on a less *practical*, but no less *instructive* note, describes events surrounding the funeral of the Doge in Venice. To label Wey's *Itineraries* – or parts thereof – as 'travel writing' may at first appear anachronistic. However, for travellers to write about their experiences is an ancient pursuit, and the geographical and chronological scope of human experience of travel has meant that travel writing has taken many forms. Just as there is debate over the generic status of travel writing, there is also debate over its pedigree, and while some scholars are reluctant to recognise travel writing before around 1500,[48] others are content to discuss it in a medieval or even an ancient context.[49] Certainly, travel writing becomes far more widespread in the sixteenth century, and this

45 Palmira Brummett, 'Introduction: Genre, Witness, and Time in the "Book" of Travels', in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 1.

46 Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002), 2.

47 See Chapter 3.

48 Hulme and Youngs, *Travel Writing*, 3.

49 Peter J. Brenner, ed., *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989); J. A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 5th edn, rev. M. A. R. Habib (Chichester, 2013), 736.

is arguably because documenting one's travels became 'an integral aspect of the activity',[50] but by the later fifteenth century, writing one's experiences was a prominent, albeit far from integral, part of pilgrimage. Pilgrim authors engage explicitly with the act and process of writing as part of the pilgrimage process, and as writing about pilgrimage, across the fifteenth century, comes to include more than an account of the holy places, so they are naturally drawn to apply to their broader travel experiences the same need to provide documentation.

Medieval travel writing is often expected by modern readers to include the witnessing and reporting of fantastical sights.[51] This is anchored in accounts like Arnold von Harff's, with its debt to Mandeville's non-pilgrim activities, as well as other works, or even Bernhard von Breydenbach's report of seeing a unicorn in the desert.[52] While this approach to travel writing is certainly present in the Middle Ages, it could not be further from William Wey's observations of his travels. Wey has no interest in secular marvels, but neither is his focus always religious. In the account of his 1462 pilgrimage, Wey reports in detail on Venice and its history, rather than concentrating on the relics in Venetian churches. He is mostly keen to recount the practices and customs surrounding the Doge: not only does he explain the Ascension Day ceremony and the St Mark's Day procession (the latter of which he sees himself), but he also witnesses and describes the funeral procession of Pasquale Malipiero (Doge from 1457 to 1462), and explains the procedure to appoint his successor, Cristoforo Mauro.[53] While Wey begins his account of Venice's history with a matter-of-fact reference to its date of foundation,[54] he is evidently more sceptical about the legend that Pope Alexander III fled from the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, disguised as a Franciscan monk, and that both were ultimately reconciled after the Doge captured the Emperor's son. Although he includes the tale, he opens it with with 'legitur' [it is said], and thus introduces a certain distance.[55] Evidently Wey placed weight on being viewed as a reliable narrator.

Certainly travel writing, even the non-fantastical, has often suffered from the view that it is not strictly trustworthy.[56] In the case of first-person travel narratives, it is easier to accept that they are, to a large extent, personal and

50 Hulme and Youngs, *Travel Writing*, 3.

51 Gerhard Wolf, 'Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters', in *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 82.

52 Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), 550.

53 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 52v–55r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 84–88.

54 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 55r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 88.

55 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 54r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 87. Bale notes that when Wey uses phrases such as 'ut legi' or 'ut dicitur' his source is often Mandeville, and suggests that this is evidence of caution, despite his frequent use of that text: Bale, 'ut legi', 220.

56 Brenner, *Der Reisebericht*, 14.

subjective, being first and foremost the written representation of an author's own experiences of a place or, as Mary B. Campbell describes the process of travel writing, 'the fraught project of translating one's own actual travel into a written record',[57] rather than a strictly objective collection of information about a place – if such a thing were in any case possible. There is, indeed, no reason to assume that an apparently impersonal account will be any less subjective, or any more objectively reliable. In the case of an impersonal account, the writer may have deliberately obscured himself or herself, but he or she should not be excluded from consideration. In the case of Anton Sepp's 1696 *Reißbeschreibung*, for example, the authorial identification is contained in the title and introduction, but in the text itself, the position of the author is unclear, which leaves the reader asking questions, not only about the identity of the first-person narrator, but also about the identity of the text itself.[58] The *Itineraries*, unusually, gives its audience the opportunity to compare an impersonal and a personal account of the same journey, both evidently based on the same notes. *Materia* 8 has its identifying details deliberately removed, and becomes an everyman text. Stripped of personal detail and recollections and with the pronouns changed, Wey presents it as 'de diuersis locis sanctis visitandis a peregrinis, et eorum nominibus, et indulgenciis istis locis concessis, cum versubus de istis locis factis' [the various holy places to be visited by the pilgrims, along with their names and the indulgences to be obtained there, with verses made about these places].[59] In other words, it is offered as the universal experience to be expected of a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but its similarity to Wey's own pilgrimage, introduced later as the 'itinerarium peregrinacionis mee ad sepulcrum sanctissimum Jhesu Christi domini' [the itinerary of my pilgrimage to the most holy sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ] demonstrates that Wey also wishes to identify it as his personal account.[60] It is crucial to his understanding of pilgrimage that the past, present, and future pilgrimages – the personal experience and the universal experience – correlate. Taken together, then, these examples of travel writing, for *instruction*, transcend that purpose and make a statement about the *devotional* potential of pilgrimage writing.

As well as looking out into the world beyond one's own doorstep, pilgrimage also naturally looks back to times past, and so pilgrimage accounts

[57] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca and London, 1988), 2.

[58] '[Es] bleibt … unklar, welche Urheberschaft für den Text in der vorliegenden Form verantwortlich ist. Nicht nur die Identität des erzählenden Subjekts ist damit von vornherein eine unsichere, sondern auch die Identität des Textes': Esther Schmid Heer, 'Anton Sepp SJ, "Reisebeschreibung" (1696)', in *Literarische Performativität: Lektüren vormoderner Texte*, ed. Cornelia Herberichs and Christian Kiening (Zurich, 2008), 417.

[59] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 19v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 30.

[60] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 35r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 56.

and history writing are in many ways a natural fit. Wey, like all pilgrim writers, notes the biblical events associated with each holy site, but this is not the sum total of his references to past times. The fifteenth century saw the end of monastic chronicle-writing and, therefore, the end of institutionally compiled history, recorded as current events, over long spans of time. This was replaced by 'a fragmentation and diversification of historical writing: more brief, one-off pieces'.[61] While the *Itineraries* is not primarily a historical text, Wey includes historical anecdotes that meet the description of 'brief, one-off pieces' of historical writing – another indication of the wide range of genres that intersect with pilgrimage accounts. He does not comment on affairs in England, perhaps with good reason; it appears from references to a Lancastrian hymn and his description of 'regis mei Henrici Sexti' [my king, Henry VI] that he had Lancastrian sympathies,[62] not to mention his retirement to Edington, where William Aiscough, bishop of Salisbury, and confessor of the Lancastrian Henry VI, had been celebrating Mass when he was attacked and killed by a mob during Jack Cade's rebellion in 1450.[63] English current affairs may therefore have been too dangerous to consider in a text written around 1470 by a man of Wey's politics, when the throne was occupied by the Yorkist Edward IV, by Henry VI, and again by Edward IV, within the space of a year. Wey evidently does not, however, lack interest in current affairs, and he makes a significant digression to discuss European military events. Towards the end of the account of his 1462 pilgrimage to Jerusalem, Wey writes that, while in Rhodes, 'audivi … a fide digno' [I heard from someone trustworthy] about battles with the Turks in Hungary.[64] Wey's source gave him enough information to include an extended account of recent dealings between the Turks and a Baron Flak (better known to modern audiences as Vlad the Impaler).[65] This is in keeping with the later medieval tendency, exemplified by Thomas Walsingham, not so much to write about the past for a contemporary audience, as to write detailed history as it happened, anticipating a future audience. Walsingham wrote the history of the years 1377–1420, probably as events occurred, in his *Chronica majora*.[66]

61 Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, 213.

62 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 59v, 98v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 95, 153; Davey, *William Wey*, 146–47, n. 77.

63 Margaret Lucille Kekewich, 'Aiscough [Ayscough], William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/954> [accessed 16 April 2019].

64 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 62r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 99.

65 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 62r–63v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 99–101. Davey identifies Flak with Vlad the Impaler/Dracula, though he does not provide further details: Davey, *William Wey*, 148, n. 96. The name as given by Wey (Flac, dominus Flake (fol. 62v)) is presumably a corruption of the exonym 'Vlach' (Wallachian).

66 John Taylor, 'Walsingham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28627> [accessed 16 April 2019].

Wey here brings the same approach to history writing that he brings to travel writing. The reference to the conversation with the person 'fide digno' locates both European current affairs and Wey's broader travels (as separate from his pilgrimage activities in the Holy Land) at a fixed point in time but, more significantly, it also speaks of the importance that Wey attaches to narratorial reliability. The information he provides, whether it relates to travel, history, or anything else, must be viewed as trustworthy, and the most straightforward way to ensure this is to emphasise the reliability of its origins. The information that Wey provides to his audience need not be novel – indeed it is better that it is anchored in a credible source. The expectation that repetition signals authenticity is widespread in medieval literature, but it is particularly key to pilgrimage writing, whose three purposes all depend upon, and invoke, narratorial reliability. Wey has an overarching aim in writing and he needs his audience to follow him. His *practical* purpose, insofar as it prepares the reader to engage in the practice of pilgrimage, leads towards his *devotional* purpose. So too does his *instructive* purpose: Wey's choice of history is indicative of his religious sympathies, and the similar response he wishes to stir in his audience. More importantly, while he tells his readers about objects, practices, and places of interest that they will encounter on their way, the context in which these are explored points towards his understanding of pilgrimage. Wey's writing, like the pilgrimages recounted within it, ultimately reaches for a spiritual goal.

That the *Itineraries* functions as a *devotional* text with a spiritual goal does not imply that there are sections written as, for example, meditations. While some elements of the work might seem more obviously directed towards its *devotional* purpose, any section of a pilgrimage account, from descriptions of the holy places to a utilitarian list of instructions, can be understood in a *devotional* context, whether for the writer, meditating on his experiences, or for the reader, often, but not necessarily, in the setting of virtual pilgrimage. The *devotional* purpose of Wey's book can be seen to transcend individual intersecting genres, or to encompass all the genres and text types that appear in it, bringing them together as the hybrid genre, pilgrimage account. The sections of the work that recall the simple guidebook, for example, form not just a *practical* travel guide, advising potential literal pilgrims on the earthly necessities of travel, but also function as a spiritual travel guide for virtual pilgrims, with all the information needed to visualise their pilgrimages. But where is our author (or reviser) in all of this? Wey is absolutely clear about the reasons for travel. In his writing, unlike, for example, that of Arnold von Harff,[67] the spiritual impetus for pilgrimage, whether literal or virtual, is the only one that matters. This brings us to Wey's conceptualisation of pilgrimage, and of his own role in the practice. Working from his own pilgrimage, however

[67] See Chapter 3.

universal the experience he seeks to create through repetition, Wey is largely aware of his own individuality, and through his conscious self-presentation, autobiographical elements appear in the text. These elements can largely be conceived of as part of the work's *devotional* purpose – although perhaps more for the *devotional* purpose of the author, reflecting on his own pilgrimage, than for the reader, except as an introduction to his or her imagined travelling companion. The *Itineraries*, of course, is not autobiography as we understand the term today – a term that first appeared in English around 1797.[68] Nonetheless, works extant long before this point have been retroactively understood as belonging to the tradition of autobiographical writing, if not autobiography proper, and such works often have a *devotional* purpose – Augustine's *Confessions*, for example,[69] or the *Book of Margery Kempe*.[70] Like these works, Wey's *Itineraries* does not conform to a prescriptive modern standard of autobiography, but contains relevant generic elements. Certainly the narratorial persona of William Wey is constructed along recognisable autobiographical lines as laid out by Northrop Frye:

> Most autobiographies are inspired by a creative, and therefore fictional, impulse to select only those events and experiences in the writer's life that go to build up an integrated pattern. This pattern may be something larger than himself with which he has come to identify himself, or simply the coherence of his character and attitudes.[71]

Wey has chosen to write about his pilgrimages, and in doing so, he presents himself through precisely those 'experiences … with which he has come to identify himself'. The relevance of autobiographical writing to the *Itineraries* and, indeed, to late-medieval pilgrimage writing more broadly, is therefore that it is best understood as 'a means of defining identity'.[72] The text is repeatedly marked as being the work and experience of William Wey. Therefore, although the authorial 'ego' does not present his readers with an interior life or development – there is none of Augustine's quasi-modern 'deep psychological self-analysis'[73] – there is a deliberate act of self-presentation or self-construction within the text. Wey writes in the first, second, and third

68 Oxford University Press, 'autobiography, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019, entry last updated 2011) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13379> [accessed 18 April 2019]; Cuddon, *Literary terms* (5th edn), 61.

69 Northrop Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1957), 307.

70 Lynn Stanley, ed., tran., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (New Haven and London, 2001), x–xi.

71 Frye, *Anatomy of Criticism*, 307.

72 Gareth Griffiths, 'Biography', in *A Dictionary of Modern Critical Terms*, ed. Roger Fowler (London, 1973 repr. London and New York, 1997), 25.

73 J. A. Cuddon, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4th edn, rev. C. E. Preston (Oxford, 1998), 63.

person, and sometimes presents his recollections in the singular, sometimes in the plural, but – crucially – there is general consistency once he has begun a section. This is evidence that the person in which he writes is a considered decision, and that, therefore, there is a real intention behind the occasions on which he uses phrases such as: 'Ego Willelmus Wey' [I, William Wey].[74] With the written word, communication strategies are necessarily more deliberate than in speech. This is particularly relevant to medieval writing, for 'in medieval linguistic theory it was not assumed that writing must be a representation of speech', but instead, 'writing [was] central to linguistic thought in a culture in which the universal medium of intellectual discourse was Latin'.[75] In other words, while it might have been natural for William Wey to have *spoken* in the first-person singular about his experiences, to use 'ego' in his writing was a deliberate act, and that it is not used in every section suggests that, when it is used, it is used for a reason. That Wey uses 'ego' and his name to emphasise his presence as narrator in parts of the text is not simply a case of communication, as it could be in a spoken context, but a literary strategy.[76] By highlighting the sections focusing on his own experiences, Wey is able to make clear their consistency with the other experiences of Holy Land pilgrimage that he represents impersonally, and by foregrounding his use of both of these strategies we can draw conclusions about his conceptualisation of pilgrimage, and the *devotional* purpose his work held for himself and his audience. We can see in what, precisely, Wey is inviting others to participate.

The language of communication affects Wey's self-presentation. He is rather circumspect about identifying himself in the English section of his book. The information is there, but it is buried in a form of wordplay, which also comes closer to a comment on genre than we see anywhere else in the text. At the top of the English verse, and forming a title, we read: 'In this boke conteynyd ys the Way to Jerusalem and the holy placys in that sam contre'. At first glance, the label 'Way' supports an identification, at least of the English part of the text, with the guidebook label, but a closer look at the capitalisation suggests something else. Wey does not capitalise many letters, and in this title, only the first word ('In'), 'Jerusalem', and 'Way' are capitalised, while the 'W' of 'Way' is more heavily rubricated than any other letter in the title. There is no reason to draw attention to 'Way' unless the author is drawing attention to his own name. It is an oblique reference, especially when compared to the clearer indications that occur later, but it is the only reference to authorial identity in the English section and, as the reader of Chaucer will know, wordplay was commonplace in later medieval English literature. Wey uses a

[74] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 35r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 56.

[75] A. C. Spearing, *Medieval Autographies: The 'I' of the Text* (Notre Dame, 2012), 2–3.

[76] This does not imply that spoken communication is not strategic, but highlights that use of the first-person singular can be a natural, unconsidered statement in speech, whereas in this context it is a deliberate literary decision.

form of self-identification appropriate to the language in which he is writing, to inform his more observant readers as to the identity of the narrator who utters the conventional 'I yow tell' as he guides them through the pilgrimage sites of the Holy Land.[77] The identity of the guide is not necessary to the *devotional* use of the text, but instead provides extra information to the observant audience member.

The first-person singular tends to occur in conjunction with a named identification of Wey, even if, as in the English verse, that named identification is obscured. The first overt association of Wey's name and the first-person singular is at the beginning of the report of his 1458 pilgrimage to Jerusalem.[78] Wey identifies himself comprehensively in essentially the same terms used later at the beginning of his 1462 pilgrimage, and in similar terms to those used at the beginning of the Compostela pilgrimage.[79] He is 'Ego Willelmus Wey, sacre theologie Baccularius, collegii regalis Beatissime Marie Etone iuxta Wyndosoram socius perpetuus' [I, William Wey, Bachelor of sacred theology and life fellow of the Royal College of the most Blessed Mary at Eton near Windsor]. Wey thus identifies himself by name, by theological qualification, and by social position, emphasising his qualifications for the role he assumes as narrator. He also stresses that he has been 'rogatus a deuotis viris compilare itinerarium peregrinacionis mee ad sepulcrum sanctissimum Jhesu Christi domini nostri' [called by faithful men to compile an itinerary of my pilgrimage to the most holy Sepulchre of our Lord Jesus Christ]. Wey represents this as a personal request, and by taking personal ownership of 'peregrinacionis mee' [my pilgrimage], he inserts his own narratorial presence as a key feature of the commission. Although he travels with a group on a standard route, he plans to describe what he identifies as 'iter meum' [my journey], even though, as the book's repetitive construction makes clear, his pilgrimage is the same as all others.[80] This brief introduction clearly denotes the account as a personal one, and deliberately guides the audience to a particular perception of the author: a theologically literate man, the holder of a respectable position, who has been asked by devout men to recount his experiences. Wey is clearly conscious of how he presents himself to his audience, and, in a few lines, establishes his textual persona. Despite the deliberate decision to write in the first-person singular here, which in this case emphasises his own role above the experience of travelling with a group, there are occasions in which he slips into the plural, using, for example, 'fuimus' to describe the journey from Venice to Jaffa, despite his use of the first-person singular for all the surrounding description.[81] This is indicative of a natural inclination to view pilgrimage as a group

77 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 8r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 8.
78 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 35r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 56.
79 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 51r, 98r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 82; 153.
80 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 35r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 56.
81 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 35v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 57.

experience, as it is usually narrated in pilgrimage accounts, rather than a personal one. The use of the first-person singular is thus a deliberate narrative strategy, rather than an unaffected recollection, emphasising the individual author in the eyes of the audience, privileging him as their guide and point of entry into the pilgrimage experience.

The Latin sections also include vaguer references to Wey, though these are not to Wey as narrator, but to Wey as pilgrimage participant. He refers on four occasions to sermons given by an Englishman, which have been interpreted as referring to his own sermons.[82] These occasions are distributed across his three personal accounts of pilgrimage, and, when the four descriptions of the preacher in each case are considered, the identification of Wey as the preacher is logical. The first sermon is given 'ab vno presbitero de Anglia et de Collegio Regali beate Marie Etone' [by a priest from England, from the Royal College of Blessed Mary at Eton];[83] the second 'ab vno Anglico, baccalario sacre theologie' [by an Englishman, a bachelor of sacred theology];[84] the third a 'bacculario predicto' [an aforementioned bachelor];[85] and the last is also 'ab vno Anglico bakkulario sacre theologie' [by an English bachelor of sacred theology].[86] These descriptions immediately call to mind Wey's self-introduction at the beginning of each personal account, and so we must ask why, instead of telling his readers that he gave a sermon, Wey uses the first-person plural to place himself in the congregation, hearing the sermon rather than giving it, always using the formulation 'habuimus sermonem' [we had a sermon].[87] Wey may be assuming a Christian modesty, despite having rigorously asserted his qualifications for writing in the introduction of each account. To ensure, however, that his readers are reminded of his intellect and priestly ministry, he has left enough clues for the identity of the preacher to be guessed. The ambiguity over the descriptions of the preacher emphasises the fluidity of the pilgrim, indeed the Christian, experience: Wey is both preacher and congregant. He gives religious instruction to his fellow pilgrims on several occasions, just as he gives religious instruction to the audience receiving his pilgrimage account, but he is also listening to and meditating on the sermon, just as he meditates on his pilgrimage experiences through the writing process. This dual role is also a reminder that he is deliberately creating a textual persona. As we expect in life writing, reality is subordinate to self-presentation; the events of each pilgrimage are filtered through a written construction. This is consistent with a narrative procedure that does not require the description of an idealised and unified pilgrimage to represent the realities of fifteenth-century Jerusalem.

82 Davey, *William Wey*, 218 n.11.
83 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 48r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 77.
84 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 60r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 96.
85 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 60v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 97.
86 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 99v–100r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 154.
87 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 48r, 60r, 60v, 99v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 77, 96, 97, 154.

The reality of Wey's individual experience as a pilgrim has never been the text's primary goal. Instead it is to convey Wey's understanding of pilgrimage to his audience, and to invite them to join him.

Indeed, the point is that Wey is far from the only pilgrim to participate in his pilgrimage. Beyond Wey himself, and beyond his mostly unnamed physical companions, countless numbers of virtual pilgrims can also embark on the same experience, and this is where we see purpose transcending the intersecting genres that feature in pilgrimage writing, and instead witness the direct relationship between *devotional* purpose and the hybrid pilgrimage account genre. Virtual pilgrimage is of profound significance to this *devotional* use. Wey, as a frequent literal pilgrim, evidently gives little credence to those who held that virtual pilgrimage was superior to physical pilgrimage. By quoting Pope Leo I on the importance of physically witnessing the holy places (*Materia* 5),[88] he directly contradicts the Dominican mystic, Adelheid Langmann, who held that a spiritual pilgrimage was preferable to a literal one, on the basis that travelling spiritually, without a physical vision of the holy places, was indicative of a deeper spirituality.[89] Nonetheless, Wey does not appear to have been opposed to the use of his book by those who had no intention of travelling, and some sections appear specifically directed to this type of use. The English verse, the most traditionally literary section of the whole work, serves precisely overlapping *practical* and *devotional* purposes. Indeed its *practical* purpose is arguably of greater use to virtual than literal pilgrims. Like *Materia* 6, it (primarily) uses the first-person plural, but it is written in the present, not the future, tense.[90] The sense is of a pilgrimage that occurs as it is read or heard, and is to be visualised by its audience, who are thereby also participants in events. The present of the poem is their present; its future, their future:

> Thens go we forth and ryghtly
> By Sylo and Abaramathy
> And when wee be passyd that place
> We schal see Jerusalem in short space
> Then knele wee downe apoun our kne
> When wee that holy cyte see [91]

In addition to providing a strategy for remembering the holy places in order, then, the verse can also be read as a simple virtual pilgrimage, guided by

88 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 18r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 28.

89 Philipp Strauch, ed., *Die Offenbarungen der Adelheid Langmann, Klosterfrau zu Engelthal* (Strasbourg and London, 1878), 52.

90 Line 151 (Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 10v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 12) shifts into the past ('a place we sowte'), which appears to be in order to enable the rhyme with the following line ('Where an angel owre lady a palme browt').

91 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 8v (ll. 27–32); Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 8–9.

William Wey through conventional narratorial strategies like 'as I yow tell'.[92] The *practical* (mnemonic) purpose and the *devotional* (virtual pilgrimage) purpose are in no way mutually exclusive, but both are clearly at play within a single text type and genre. In other words, this verse is evidence that, despite a clear endorsement of literal place pilgrimage in the *Materie*, Wey envisioned a non-literal use for his writing, and engaged with virtual pilgrimage. This is particularly clear in the context of the verse's references to indulgences, which are not limited to literal pilgrims. The lines on Jerusalem continue:

> For to all that thydyr [thither] come
> Ys yeue [given] and graunt ful remyssion [93]

The audience is clearly included in this – they are (in the present tense, while reading) explicitly on their knees in gratitude for the remission of sins, included amongst the 'wee' who are seeing the holy city of Jerusalem, amongst those 'that thydyr come'. Thus the verse enables the visualisation and virtual visitation of the holy places or, to put it another way, the ability truly and comprehensively to enter the pilgrimage space without being literally present. Wey does not go as far as Felix Fabri who, in the 1490s, provided *Die Sionpilger* as an account of his pilgrimage specifically for the use of nuns who wished to conduct a virtual pilgrimage,[94] but with his combination of practical information, descriptions, memoirs, and verses, he engages with the idea that those who were not literal travellers would both read and use his book in a way that goes beyond giving tips for future literal pilgrims, or providing interesting facts for *instructive* purposes. Just as Wey provides the basic information necessary for a non-Latin-literate literal pilgrim, so he also provides the basic tools for a non-Latin-literate virtual pilgrim. There is more detail in the Latin section, and the imagined pilgrimage experience is richer for it, but the text serves as potentially *devotional* material for more than one audience, even if its actual audience was limited by the location of the only (known) manuscript.

Indeed, Latin-literate virtual pilgrims could have found a use for the whole book, perhaps as part of a collection of materials.[95] Although they were not limited to material composed for the purpose of conducting a virtual pilgrimage, Wey appears to be catering specifically for this audience in

[92] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 8r (l. 21); Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 8. This does not indicate that the verse originated with Wey but that, by including it, he has taken on the textual persona of its narrator.

[93] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 8v (ll. 33–34); Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 9.

[94] Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 178.

[95] Marie-Luise Ehrenschwendtner, 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60/01 (2009), 67.

Materia 6. His decision to use the first-person plural creates the impression of a general and active invitation to the reader to participate with him in a future pilgrimage that is identical to his own past experiences, and which can occur at any time and in any place, rather than a purely factual indication of what a pilgrim can expect to happen when travelling to the Holy Land. By removing the pilgrimage experience from the bounds of literal time and space (future and past pilgrimages as reported by Wey being the same), this becomes an invitation to the virtual pilgrim to join Wey on pilgrimage to the Holy Land – an invitation to *the* pilgrimage, not to *a* pilgrimage. An invitation to the conceptual space of pilgrimage can be at least as readily accepted by a virtual pilgrim as by a literal pilgrim.

The book's structure lends itself to being read by the virtual pilgrim. The reader makes his or her way through the *practical* information presented in English. The places to be visited – the itinerary – are, through repetition, firmly fixed in the reader's head. The virtual pilgrim then moves on to the *Materie*, the justifications for pilgrimage. These do in part emphasise the high value of literal place pilgrimage, but, given Wey's own repeated literal pilgrimages, virtual pilgrims are unlikely to be the only, or even the main intended audience.[96] Once virtual pilgrims have read the *Materie*, and have accepted Wey's invitation to join him on his own pilgrimage, they can share in the personal recollections of that pilgrimage. Precision matters in these personal recollections, as does their correspondence with other accounts of Jerusalem. Through Wey's two question-and-answer sections, which engage directly with this concern, we again see overlapping purposes, in this case, the *instructive* and the *devotional*, as Wey indulges his interest in the precise details of sites and relics, particularly those associated with the Crucifixion.[97] Wey asks: 'Cujus coloris est foramen sancte crucis?' [What colour is the hole for the holy cross?] and notes that, while none of Christ's blood remains on the pillar where he was scourged, 'vestigia aculiorum scorpionum, cum quibus Christus flagellatus erat, remanent in columpna' [traces of the barbs of the whip with which Christ was beaten remain in the column].[98] At first glance, the function of these question-and-answer sections is simply to provide information. Like much of the *Itineraries*, they are not obviously devotional texts in and of themselves, but in the context of the popularity of affective piety in late-medieval English religious practice they constitute a useful tool to enhance detailed meditation on the Passion. This attempt to reconcile Wey's different sources with biblical accounts and present-day reality also

[96] Wey spent most of his working life at Eton College, and may have had school pupils in mind as part of his audience: boys with varying amounts of Latin, depending on their age, and who might be induced to embark on a literal pilgrimage later in life.

[97] Davey, *William Wey*, 172, n.64.

[98] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 82r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 126.

shows the creation of the consistent 'meme' Jerusalem in action.[99] We see again how the book's *devotional* purpose unites its variety of genres and text types into a single work, belonging to the hybrid genre of pilgrimage account, and how material primarily envisioned as *instructive* or *practical* can be used for a *devotional* purpose, just as a variety of experiences of Jerusalem can be combined to create an unchanging Jerusalem – which was a crucial element in the construction of a unified pilgrimage experience.

Genre and purpose beyond William Wey

By situating the *Itineraries* within a broader pilgrimage writing context, not only can we begin to see the reappearance of many of the same intersecting genres that feature in Wey's writing, but, by considering how the three purposes of pilgrimage writing manifest themselves in the works of Bernhard von Breydenbach, Arnold von Harff, and Thomas Larke, we can also identify a horizon of expectations for late-medieval pilgrimage accounts as a Jaussian generic group. These other three texts are on the whole generically and stylistically less diverse than that of William Wey. Certainly, text types are more uniform and generic shifts are more subtle. The most complex of the three is Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, a work that was edited, translated, and prepared for publication, and whose structure and purpose is stated at its beginning. *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* has a consistent form throughout, but nonetheless features shifts in genre and purpose, and Larke's *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, while generically the most straightforward text, raises questions of its own.

Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* most closely approaches Wey's range of intersecting genres, but does so in an apparently more planned fashion. Pilgrimage accounts are inherently indebted to other extant texts, and this is particularly true of Breydenbach who, like Wey, does not feel that the text type of the material he is incorporating necessarily needs to be modified in order to fit within his pilgrimage account. He produces a work that encompasses the guidebook, travel writing, autobiographical writing, history, legend, and polemic. Unlike Wey, Breydenbach seeks to provide an overarching commentary on his work, describing it as a 'bůchlyn' [little book], containing 'zweyen heiligen ferten' [two holy journeys] and a 'beschribung der land vnd syten der ynwoner' [description of the lands and customs of the inhabitants].[100] While this outline is fairly reductive, and the book is far from small, it does nod towards Breydenbach's different purposes in writing. He has a particularly

[99] For an in-depth analysis of English pilgrims', including Wey's and Larke's, memetic reporting of Jerusalem, in which the identical and imagined Jerusalem reported in successive (eyewitness) pilgrimage accounts becomes further and further detached from the earthly reality of fifteenth-century Jerusalem, see Bale, 'ut legi', 201–37.

[100] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 6.

clear vision of the audiences to whom these different purposes are targeted. He echoes Wey's preference for literal place pilgrimage when he expresses the hope that the images in his book 'krefftiglicher wůrd ziehen vnd reitzen ander menschen begird zů sollichen reysen' [will more strongly encourage and incite other people to desire to embark on such a journey]. The inclusion of concrete information and recommendations for travel is clearly directed towards this audience and serves a *practical* purpose. But this is not his sole audience. Later he notes that he also desires to provide information to the 'slechten leyen … fur die auch dises bůchlyn mochte kommen' [uneducated lay people … to whom this little book may also come],[101] expressly invoking the *instructive* purpose of pilgrimage writing, and gesturing towards an audience who would be unlikely themselves to embark upon a literal pilgrimage. The *devotional* purpose, meanwhile, is aimed at all of his readers and listeners, of every station in life, and is embodied through extensive religious instruction and prayers worked into the text – along with a call for crusade.[102]

Breydenbach's inclusion of a descriptive contents list gives some insight into the book's intended use, as well as emphasising that the text's switches in genre, tone, and style are not accidental. His use of different descriptions for different sections, while not exhaustive or consistent with modern readings, and often supplemented by additional or alternative terms later in the text, indicates a deliberate decision to alter his approach depending on content, for example: 'vorrede' [introduction], 'fůrgang' [sequence of events], 'disputacion' [disputation], 'geschicht' [narrative or history], 'beclagung' [lament], 'vision' [vision]. When outlining the sea voyage to Jerusalem, he lists the ports of call en route and their respective distances from one another (*practical* and *instructive* purposes), but he declines to list the holy places in and around Jerusalem in the contents, stating only that they 'syn mit besunderem fliß hye ynn anzeuget vnd beschrieben, da mit dester baß zů verstan die geschrifften so da von gefůnden werden yn der biblia lutend' [are described here with particular care, so that their stories in the Bible are all the better understood].[103] This indicates part of the work's intended *devotional* purpose – Breydenbach wants his audience to meditate on the holy places and their relevance, rather than simply noting a list. This first part of the main text, the report of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem, contains many features typical of the guidebook, and these are explicitly directed at those audience members intending to make *practical* use of the text. A full copy of the contract to be made between pilgrim and ship's patron, for example, is included 'daz sich eyn yeder wiß dester baß zu versorgen dise reiß wil vnderstan' [so that anyone who wants to undertake this journey will better be able to provide for

[101] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 290.

[102] For an example of prayer, see Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 514. For Breydenbach's relations with other religious groups and his attempt to incite a crusade, see Chapter 2.

[103] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 18–24.

himself], along with the price per person.[104] Despite its large size, making it impractical actually to bring it on pilgrimage, *Peregrinatio* certainly provides the necessary facts and recommendations to be used as a guidebook – but it does not stop there.

In the next part of the book, the contents announce, Breydenbach will write about the people who live in the Holy Land, making clear that his priority is their 'yrtum' [error]. The majority of this section, which draws on numerous other sources, takes the form of an extended polemic, and is primarily intended to convey information to his readers, whether or not they are potential pilgrims. Mingled throughout the polemic is an attempt to provide religious instruction, and its culmination is an attempt to incite a crusade. Finally, the polemic shifts almost imperceptibly to prayer, concluding 'got der yn ewikeyt sy gelobet. Amen' [God be eternally praised. Amen], as Breydenbach's purpose becomes more typically *devotional*. The impossibility of distinguishing the end of the polemic from the beginning of the prayer is indicative of the fact that the *devotional* aspect of Breydenbach's writing is intrinsically linked with hostility to those of other religious identities. Crusade is framed as a sacred activity. To close this section, Breydenbach offers a vision shown to 'keyser Karolo' [Charles the Bald],[105] used to illustrate the need to obey God.[106] This second section of the book thus provides little of *practical* use to potential pilgrims, focusing instead on fulfilling the *instructive* and *devotional* purposes of pilgrimage writing – albeit with a different vision of those purposes from that offered by William Wey.

The next part of the work is devoted to the journey to and from Sinai, and again the contents provide a list of places visited without expanding much on the ultimate pilgrimage destination.[107] This section also returns to the work's *practical* purpose, offering a set of tips on what to pack for the journey, 'daz auch ander pilger so villicht sollich reiß wolten vnderstan zů thůn sich der nach wissen zů richten' [so that other pilgrims who might want to undertake this journey, know how to organise for it].[108] Finally, treated in the contents as directly following on from the journey, and functioning as a kind of appendix, are what are described 'historien' – a set of accounts of Turkish sieges and conquests of Christian cities.[109] This corresponds thematically and generically with the history section of Wey's text, albeit not with Wey's positioning of the episode within the text. Breydenbach's compilation, however, is more considered than Wey's. The urgent and contemporary nature of this concern is

[104] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 54–62.

[105] Breydenbach decribes him both as the fourth Charles after Charlemagne, and as Calvus, which would mean Charles the Bald who was, however, the second Charles.

[106] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 20–24.

[107] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 24.

[108] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 538.

[109] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 668.

emphasised by its position in Breydenbach's work – it does not easily fit within his carefully planned text, but is considered important enough to add to the end as a separate section that is highlighted in the contents list, rather than being absorbed into a narrative.

If Breydenbach uses the contents to define his text and its purpose, he also uses the text to identify and present himself. Because we are more aware of the circumstances of the composition of *Peregrinatio*, it is easier to recognise the textual Breydenbach as a constructed figure, set down on the page by the intermediary, Martin Rath, under the historical Breydenbach's supervision – although it must not be forgotten that the same is true of all supposedly autobiographical narration, whether ghostwritten or not. Like Wey, Breydenbach repeatedly names himself, but, unlike Wey, he follows this through by making clear that he is in control of the text, and he identifies himself immediately as the text opens as 'Jch, Benhard von Breydenbach' [I, Bernhard von Breydenbach].[110] Indeed, although Breydenbach's recollections of pilgrimage are expressed as the experience of a group, throughout the text he refers in personal terms to the process of compiling the book and uses consciously Augustinian references to his past, and how he has learnt from it, as a technique to encourage his readers to follow his recommendations: 'nach dem ich myne jungen tag hab volfůret (als gewonlichen geschicht) in torheyten etc., hab ich mich selber vnd myne weg baß angesehn vnd erkennet, auch mir fůr gevasset, mich zů enderen vnd zů besseren' [after spending my youth (as is usual) in foolishness etc., I took a closer look at myself and my path, and decided to change and improve myself].[111] Through these autobiographical elements, a clear textual persona of Bernhard von Breydenbach is created, who is less Wey's pilgrim guide, and more spiritual instructor to the audience – but like the textual Wey, the textual Breydenbach's priority is the *devotional* purpose of his text. The work, therefore, is consciously a guidebook to literal travel, as well as to salvation – for the soul, for the Church, for the Holy Land. What is striking is how deliberately the different elements have been combined into one work, a work so consciously denoted as a single text. Breydenbach thinks of what he is doing as pilgrimage writing, and defines the book's content in those terms on more than one occasion: it is a 'buchlyn' [little book] comprising 'die heyligen reyßen gen Jhersalem zů dem heiligen grab vnd furbaß zů der hochgelobten jungfauwen (sic) vnd mertreryn sant Katheryn' [the holy journeys to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and further to the highly praised virgin and martyr, St Catherine].[112] It is only on closer inspection that we see how much of the book's content is not evident from its creator's commentary.

[110] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 4.
[111] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 50.
[112] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 724.

Arnold von Harff takes a similar approach to Breydenbach in identifying himself and his text, at least initially. Immediately after dedicating his work to his patrons, he stresses his personal identity: 'ich Arnolt van Harue ritter geboren … hab eyne loebliche pylgrymmacie vollenbraicht' [I, Arnold von Harff, knight by birth … have completed a worthy pilgrimage].[113] This is his statement of purpose for his writing: it is the individual experience of a named individual, and it is the record of a pilgrimage. This statement obscures the text's generic mixture, for Harff takes his audience far from ordinary pilgrimage destinations, into secular sightseeing and the wonders of the East. Additionally, like Wey, Harff makes use of tables and lists of vocabulary, but these are integrated into his writing, rather than forming separate sections. He also relies heavily on images to illustrate his observations, and these too are integrated into the text. Harff's writing thus forms a continuous narrative, but he is aware of his different audiences, and thus of their different uses for his writing, referring to both 'der pylgrum ader der leser' [the pilgrim or the reader].[114] Both are well catered for. Harff provides information on provisions for the journey from Venice as detailed as that included by Wey, and which would be just as useful to a potential pilgrim, but he alters its presentation to become a list of supplies purchased for his own use.[115] He thus conveys the content of a guidebook in this instance, while moving beyond its typical form. But this is not always the case: the recurring vocabulary lists, for example, remain in a guidebook format, punctuating the narrative, as does the text of the standard contract he has drawn up for his journey to Sinai.[116] And Harff himself acknowledges a *practical* purpose for his work, writing of his hope 'dat … vre vurstliche gnaede in disem boiche mit mir zo wyllen eyn guede wegewijsonge vinden moechte' [that … through me your princely graces might find a good travel guide in this book].[117]

Generic changes, as in many accounts of pilgrimage, occur when Harff's activities shift from the religious to the secular.[118] As he moves beyond the usual pilgrim routes, into a world familiar to the readers of John Mandeville and Marco Polo, populated by men with dogs' heads and sea monsters, the *instructive* purpose of pilgrimage writing is privileged, and Harff draws heavily on contemporary travel writing, incorporating it seamlessly into his pilgrimage account. Whether writing for the pilgrim, the reader, or both, Harff is acutely aware of his audience and of their expectations. In Rome, for example, he explains that he will not describe any further churches in Rome in

[113] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

[114] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 31.

[115] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 57–58.

[116] See, for example, von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 64. For the contract, see: von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 115–16.

[117] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

[118] See Chapter 3 for tensions between devotional and secular motivations for travel.

case his audience 'verdross hie inne en haue' [find it tedious], and announces his intention instead 'ouch etzliche werltliche saichen die bynnen Rome sijnt uch hie melden' [also to outline various worldly things in Rome].[119] He is unique amongst the four pilgrim authors in his assumption that his writing on pilgrimage will reach an audience whose primary interest in the text may not actually be religious – and in stating explicitly that even those who do intend a pilgrimage of their own may at times tire of *devotional* activity and seek secular distraction. Thus, expressed in the form of concern for his audience, we see Harff's approach to pilgrimage encapsulated – an interest in the world beyond the pilgrimage space does not negate one's identity as a pilgrim.

The *devotional* purpose of Harff's account is not as all-pervasive as that of Wey's, Breydenbach's, or Larke's and, because of his wider travels, the book would be unlikely to be of use to virtual pilgrims, at least when taken as a whole. Much of the *devotional* use of Harff's account is in fact identifiable in illustrations, rather than in words. On seven occasions, Harff is depicted praying in front of the saint or at a particular moment in time associated with a pilgrimage site, utterly divorced from any worldly surroundings. On these occasions, the *devotional* purpose of his journey is prioritised and presented to his audience as a moment for meditation.[120] Even in writing that is less obviously directed towards the *devotional* practice of his readers, his Christian focus frequently comes to the fore. His wider travels are often inflected by this focus, and he tends to seek out additional destinations on this basis, from the source of the Nile, on the grounds that this is the location of the earthly paradise,[121] to Kollam in India, to visit the burial place of St Thomas the Apostle – and at this latter location, amidst secular wonders, another *devotional* image appears.[122] While the descriptions of these holy sites arguably provide extra *devotional* potential for Harff's audience, the fact that their inclusion is non-standard and interwoven with visits to sites of secular interest means that Harff's purpose in writing is at least as *instructive* as it is *devotional*, if not more so, and as bound up in his self-presentation as an adventuring knight as it is in his self-presentation as a pilgrim.

Indeed, self-presentation and self-identification is crucial to a text that comes closer to autobiographical writing than those of our other three pilgrims. It is narrated throughout in the first person, often in the first-person

[119] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 31.

[120] For further discussion of Harff's use of images, see Chapter 3, 140–43 and Mary Boyle and Annette Volfing, '"Imaginatio", Anachronismus und Heilsgeschichte', in *Geschichte Erzählen*, ed. Sarah Bowden, Stephen Mossman, and Michael Stolz (Tübingen, 2019), 138–39.

[121] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 148.

[122] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 141; Arnold von Harff, MS Bodl. 972: 'The Travels of Arnolt van Harffe from Cologne to Italy, Egypt, Palestine and India, and Back by Madagascar, the Upper Nile, Constantinople, and France, in 1496–99' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1554), fol. 94v.

singular, and contains both individual experiences and, critically, personal responses. Harff, more than Wey, Breydenach, or Larke, almost automatically treats pilgrimage as a personal and, to an extent, even as an individual experience. Like Breydenbach, and unlike Wey, Harff identifies himself as author and subject on the first page of his work, ensuring that the text thus has two focuses: pilgrimage and the textual persona of Arnold von Harff, but, where the Breydenbach persona assumes a spiritual authority over his audience, the Harff persona addresses his peers. Although Harff usually travels with a group, and thus writes in the first-person plural, he maintains a sense of individuality by reflecting personally on his experiences, or acting separately from the group, whether this means disguising himself as a Mamluk in order to enter the Dome of the Rock,[123] or attempting to bribe the guards at Compostela into showing him the body of St James.[124] These episodes illustrate Harff's desire to seek out additional *devotional* opportunities, but to do so in an unconventional way, with the potential to attract both admiration and condemnation. Harff's account of his pilgrimage is consistently informed by the construction of the persona through which he interacts with his audience and, while Wey, Breydenbach, and Larke are both pilgrim and clergyman, Harff's textual identity is both pilgrim and knight. The centrality of Harff's persona to his account is exemplified when, at the end of his book of pilgrimages, Harff's conclusion is about himself. He asks his audience, 'Bidt got vur den pylgrum weech wijser ind dichter' [Pray to God for the pilgrim, guide, and author].[125] This is a moment of self-definition. Harff may approach his pilgrimage account in a different way from Wey, Larke, or Breydenbach, but he still uses the practice and the process of writing about it as a way 'to understand how [he has] become what [he is] at the moment of writing'.[126] Autobiographical and pilgrimage writing overlap when it comes to expressing identity. But although this is a comment on Harff himself, it also has implications for how we understand genre and purpose in his account. It is a statement that the work has a *practical* purpose, being the work of a 'weech wijser'; that it has an *instructive* purpose beyond a utilitarian, being a consciously literary work written by a 'dichter'; and that – at least nominally – its first purpose is *devotional*, for it is the work of a pilgrim.

The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde is the shortest and the least complex of the four texts, but also the one of least *practical* use. Its once anonymous author, Thomas Larke, is alone amongst our pilgrims in providing no tips as to provisions or contracts in Venice, and the closest that he comes to providing information relevant to the guidebook genre is a list of the time spent in each

[123] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 178. See Chapter 3, 135–41.

[124] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 233. See Chapter 3, 149.

[125] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 260.

[126] Sverre Bagge, 'The Autobiography of Abelard and Medieval Individualism', *Journal of Medieval History*, 19/4 (1993), 346.

location,[127] and a table noting the distances in miles between each place on the journey.[128] These appear at the end of the text, and would be of substantially more use to a virtual pilgrim aiming to emulate the length and distance of a pilgrimage without leaving home than to any literal pilgrim, and thus they serve a *devotional* purpose at least as much as a *practical* one. Although Larke is not immune to the *instructive* purpose of pilgrimage writing, providing, for example, detailed information on the state of Venice's arsenal,[129] and writing extensively about the dangerous voyage home,[130] which has more to do with secular travel writing than with *devotional* or *instructive* writing, he is also prone to disavowing such a purpose, only hinting at the fact that he knows more with disclaimers such as, 'The forme and maner therof excedyd all other that euer I sawe so moche that I can not wryte it'.[131] Simply put, providing interesting information is not, in his eyes, the priority of a pilgrim writer.

The real purpose of Larke's travel is *devotional*, and the real purpose of his writing, therefore, is to meditate upon his pilgrimage, to share information about the devotional exercise in which he participated, and to demonstrate the correct way in which one does so. Larke thus highlights repeated visits to holy sites, and dismisses secular places of interest as 'sondry other thinges'.[132] His very anonymity is key to his approach, and indeed he generally disappears into the pilgrim group. His consistent use of 'we' rather than 'I' emphasises the essentially communal nature of the pilgrimage experience, which, as Wey's *Itineraries* illustrates, is a prominent aspect of pilgrimage writing, and specifically relevant to its *devotional* purpose. The pilgrim group may lose important members to death, but it retains its integrity, and the pilgrimage continues.[133] Sickness and death confer individuality, because they result in leaving the pilgrim group. The unity of the pilgrimage experience is emphasised by the few times that the narrator does refer to himself in the singular: the procession in Venice, for example, is 'the most solempne procession that euer I sawe',[134] and this conventional 'euer I sawe' construction is repeated several times in the text. Larke reaches back into his memory of events before he embarked on the pilgrimage. The sense, therefore, is that before the pilgrimage Larke was an individual, but experiences on pilgrimage, even – or especially – conventional ones, are shared by the whole group. He otherwise only acknowledges any kind of individuality when making reference to the writing process. Keeping

[127] Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), 81–82.
[128] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 82.
[129] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 7–8.
[130] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 58–78.
[131] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 9.
[132] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 46.
[133] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 40.
[134] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 8.

an account of the pilgrimage is indeed the only way in which Larke allows his experience of pilgrimage to be distinguished from the experience of the rest of the group. He is conscious that he is producing a text for an audience whom he very occasionally addresses directly,[135] and so his work must be understood as an attempt to communicate his pilgrimage and his understanding of the practice to that audience, not simply as a meditative reflection on the practice for his own benefit. The consistent, unified style in which Larke writes of the pilgrimage reflects his ambition to represent pilgrimage as a consistent, unified experience. In this case, the lack of generic complexity is as important as the range of intersecting genres that feature in the accounts of William Wey, Bernhard von Breydenbach, and Arnold von Harff, because it highlights the uniform nature of pilgrimage as portrayed in writing.

The Pilgrimage Account as Genre

From this analysis of Wey's *Itineraries*, placed in the context of our other three pilgrim authors, we can see both substantial overlap and substantial divergence between the four works. These pilgrimage accounts are inflected by other intersecting genres, often the same ones, and yet to describe any one of them as simply a guidebook, a piece of travel, history, or autobiographical writing, a legend, a devotional meditation, or a polemic would be entirely reductive, and would require the disregarding of large parts – indeed the greater part – of each text. That our four pilgrimage accounts can so frequently be assigned various of these other generic labels points towards several potentially or selectively shared features, which, deriving from our authors' range of purposes in writing, together suffice to characterise them as a Jaussian generic category. In all four cases, the texts serve a *practical*, *instructive*, and *devotional* purpose. Although the weight given to each purpose is dependent on its author, the *devotional* purpose tends to be the most significant, and it is key to the identification of an overarching hybrid genre that could be labelled 'pilgrimage account'. This requires us to look at the heart of the pilgrimage experience. For all their divergences, there is an element of these four texts in which there is unanimous agreement over approach and text type. Wittgenstein may be right that the strength of the rope resides in the overlapping of shorter fibres, but in this case there is also one fibre that runs through its whole length. It is the representation of the holy places themselves. Although each of our four pilgrims reaches this point (or, in Wey's case, points) in their text in a different manner, the differences fade entirely once they have arrived. Each writer provides a matter-of-fact and non-emotive description of each site, with the same features noted, and

[135] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 15.

no statement more personal than 'we went', or 'voert gyngen wir'.[136] Any variety of experience is to be expressed elsewhere. Wey's text is particularly salient here, given his propensity to rewrite his own experiences. As we have seen, his description of sites in the Holy Land in *Materia* 8 is simply a depersonalised description of his own 1458 pilgrimage, while *Materia* 6 states what will happen on any pilgrimage to Jerusalem. When describing the 1462 pilgrimage, Wey notes that they visited the holy places, 'sicut in precedenti itinerario meo dixi' [as I said in my previous itinerary].[137] He thus emphasises the unity of the manuscript as a book to be read through from the beginning, as well as the unity of experience to be expected on a pilgrimage – as proven by the act of repetition. The similarities in the other three texts demonstrate that this unified experience is re-presented, rather than simply represented, by different pilgrims at various times and from various places.

This was not the initiative of pilgrim writers, but is illustrative of the deliberate Franciscan drive to standardise the Holy Land pilgrimage experience.[138] The salient points were communicated to the pilgrims by their Franciscan guides, and possibly reinforced in a guidebook to the holy places, perhaps present in the substantial library at Mount Sion, and the pilgrims dutifully reported them to their audiences. As this tradition of description of the holy places became more widespread, particularly with the advent of print, it became self-sustaining, and reproducible by those who themselves never reached Jerusalem.[139] There is a certain inevitability, for example, about each description of Caiaphas's house, as each pilgrim notes the stone that once covered the mouth of Christ's tomb, the cell in which Christ spent the night, and the tree by which St Peter stood.[140] The most striking similarity, naturally, is between Larke's and Breydenbach's descriptions, given that the former is a direct translation of parts of the latter.[141] That a text generically so unadventurous as Larke's could simply copy sections of a text so complex as Breydenbach's without obvious incongruity emphasises the generic unity of descriptions of the holy places across decades, languages, and countries. The term 'pilgrimage account', therefore, is intended to convey that a text may be expected to engage with the holy places in this way, and thus to

[136] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 18; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 167.

[137] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 60r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 96.

[138] Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio' from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park, 2014), 159. Bale describes this Franciscan control, which lasted from the 1330s until the mid-sixteenth century as 'the Franciscan pilgrimage industry': Bale, 'ut legi', 205.

[139] See William Brewyn (c.1470), for example, mentioned in the Appendix.

[140] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 41r–41v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 66; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 167; Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 18–19; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 124 (Early New High German); Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (Mainz, 1486), fol. 28r.

[141] See Chapter 4.

represent a certain understanding of this central part of pilgrimage. This type of engagement suggests that the significance of the pilgrimage sites was reflected in a desired unity of experience, however the authors of these texts chose to write about other parts of their journeys. What mattered was not reflecting the reality of poverty-stricken, partially ruined, and dirty fifteenth-century Jerusalem, but re-presenting and re-creating the conceptual Jerusalem. This *devotional* written practice, transformed into a *devotional* reading or listening practice, is at the heart of an understanding of pilgrimage accounts as a hybrid genre.

This is not, though, all that can be said of the genre. After all, it still deals predominantly with a relatively small section of the texts, albeit one of crucial importance. Beyond their treatment of the holy places, our accounts have other features in common. Some of these are basic and common to all four: they include other destinations; they are mostly, but not consistently, written in the first person; they are all at least partially written in the vernacular; and they are all presented as works of non-fiction, as factual reports, while in fact deliberately not representing the historical fifteenth-century experience of Jerusalem. If we take a broader view, returning to Jauss's argument that any one representative of a given genre might contain only some of a whole range of features,[142] the divergences between our four texts are not substantial enough to negate their belonging to a single hybrid genre of pilgrimage account. We can recognise that the *practical* purpose of a pilgrimage account is often expressed in a form typical of a guidebook, but that the absence of this kind of direct instruction to the audience, or even the absence of *practical* information, however expressed, does not mean that we cannot categorise the writing of Arnold von Harff or Thomas Larke as a pilgrimage account. We can recognise that a pilgrimage account may well feature autobiographical elements used as a means to define identity, but also that the absence of those elements may be just as significant in defining another kind of identity – Larke's account does not contain the autobiographical markers of the other three, but is as insistent about a shared pilgrim identity as William Wey is about his theological qualifications, or Harff about his knightly status. That all four pilgrims provide substantial information on their journeys beyond the Holy Land in a manner reminiscent of secular travel writing does not mean that this is a necessary feature of pilgrimage writing. Although Larke goes into detail about his dangerous homeward voyage, a preferred topic in late-medieval pilgrimage writing, Harff – otherwise prone to discussing his travels – declines to discuss his own sea voyage on the basis that another party might have better or worse weather.[143] And while Wey and Bernhard von Breydenbach augment their accounts with extended histories of Turkish

[142] Jauss, *Alterität und Modernität*, 35–36.
[143] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 60.

military activity, Harff's and Larke's approach to similar material is to scatter it throughout their narratives, mentioning it briefly where relevant. Just as not every feature needs to be present in every pilgrimage account, or present in the same way,[144] and those features shared by all four of our texts are not necessarily common to all other pilgrimage accounts, so an individual pilgrimage account can incorporate text types not found in most other examples, or intersect with entirely different genres. We can see this in Breydenbach's use of polemic and incorporation of Charles the Bald's vision narrative, both features not in evidence in any of the other three accounts, or in Harff's incorporation of the wonders of the East. The horizon of expectations for a pilgrimage account is broad, and, as a hybrid genre, it overlaps with many others, but ultimately all of the likely features correspond to the genre's threefold *practical*, *instructive*, and *devotional* purposes.

Taken together, then, our four pilgrim authors understand pilgrimage as a shared experience, whose textual expression incorporates variation, but maintains a consistent approach to the holy places at its heart. Wey's *Itineraries* exemplifies this understanding. As Wey draws together different materials to create a single work, no matter that hybridity is integral to it, so he draws together multiple pilgrimages and multiple places under a single description: everything in it is a 'matere' of Jerusalem. Consistency is as important to the *Itineraries* as variation. The repeated descriptions of the Jerusalem pilgrimage emphasise the unity of the pilgrim experience across languages and occurrences: the readers' prospective pilgrimage, whether literal or virtual, will follow Wey's precisely. This pilgrimage can be experienced many times, textually or physically, but remain unchanged. The variation surrounding this central consistency does not negate an overall unity, either within Wey's *Itineraries* or more broadly. Indeed, it is an expression of the threefold *practical*, *instructive*, and *devotional* purpose of pilgrimage writing, and thus an inherent part of Wey's text and of the hybrid pilgrimage account genre to which the *Itineraries* belongs.

[144] The *Information for Pilgrims*, for example, includes a list of tolls in guidebook format, while Paul Walther von Guglingen appended a treatise containing a comprehensive history of the Holy Land to his travelogue. And, although the younger Sebald Rieter travelled to many of the same places as Breydenbach, including Sinai, he structures the accounts of his travels quite differently.

2

Bernhard von Breydenbach: The Religious Other and Other Religions

While the form of certain aspects of a pilgrimage account, most significantly the descriptions of the holy places, was non-negotiable, the shape of other features, even those apparently based on shared experiences, could vary in accordance with the intentions of the pilgrim author. This is particularly true of our four pilgrims' responses to encounters with other religious groups.[1] The importance of religious affiliation as a signifier of 'communal and personal identity' in the late-medieval world is undeniable,[2] but it does not therefore follow that medieval encounters with the unfamiliar necessarily need to be understood as 'other' in a cultural-theoretical sense.[3] Indeed, there is a spectrum of responses between simple encounters with other religions and, as we shall see, Bernhard von Breydenbach's construction of a monolithic and hostile religious other, and this has an attendant range of implications for the creation or reinforcement of identity.

1 The analysis in this chapter makes frequent use of, and reference to, the terminology used by the medieval authors. Engagement with pilgrim writers' vocabulary facilitates analysis of their written responses to encounters with other religions, including the (possible) construction of a religious other, and how those responses are communicated to their audience. The word 'Saracen' in particular, 'in the Latin West … the preeminent name of the international foe' (Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018), 111), is used directly to refer to a use of this term in the relevant medieval text, and accordingly placed in quotation marks. Elsewhere, the neutral term 'Muslim' is preferred, although it does not appear in any of our four pilgrimage accounts, in line with Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh's caution that, wherever and whenever the word appears, 'Saracen is referring to a misrepresented Muslim': Shokoofeh Rajabzadeh, 'The Depoliticized Saracen and Muslim Erasure', *Literature Compass*, 16/9–10 (2019), 7.

2 Michalis Olympios, 'Shared devotions: non-Latin responses to Latin sainthood in late medieval Cyprus', *Journal of Medieval History*, 39/3 (2013), 323.

3 'Nicht alles, was unvertraut ist, muß darum auch schon in einem kulturtheoretisch relevanten Sinne als "fremd" erscheinen': Peter J. Brenner, 'Die Erfahrung der Fremde. Zur Entwicklung einer Wahrnehmungsform in der Geschichte des Resiseberichts', in *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 15.

The Religious Other and Identity Construction

Given that pilgrims to Jerusalem encountered people of other religious identities in a specific geographical context, travelling eastwards out of Europe, it is unsurprising that we encounter attitudes reminiscent of Edward Said's analysis of the 'European invention' of the Orient,[4] a type of outlook not confined to post-Enlightenment western imperialism, but with a much longer history.[5] These encounters fall into three categories: Islam (an anachronistic term, as far as the people of the western Middle Ages are concerned), Judaism, and non-Latin Christianity, each of which potentially occupies a different space of constructed otherness.

The otherness of Islam was perceived to be geographically distant and relatively unknown. European comprehension of Islam on a religious or theological level was limited: one popular miscomprehension, which had provided useful crusading propaganda, cast Muhammad as a god of the pagan pantheon, a view that endured despite attempts from the twelfth century onwards to develop a better understanding.[6] In the fourteenth century *South English Legendary*, for example, St Katherine recommends to the emperor that he forsake Muhammad and honour God above all others.[7] By the late fifteenth century, however, there was more recognition of Muhammad's status as a prophet, rather than as a figure for worship. Theological misunderstandings, though, remained widespread, and were combined with a sense of geographical separation – albeit that this separation, particularly after the Fall of Constantinople in 1453, was felt to be being aggressively diminished. For pre-modern pilgrims of any period encountering Islam, therefore, the unfamiliar location is crucial to their experience, and ideas of Islam and the Orient were inextricably intertwined.[8] Yet for our four pilgrims, travelling

4 Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London, 1978, repr. 1995), 1–3.

5 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, 'From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 19. Discourse on the Holy Land was particularly fraught – medieval accounts of the East beyond the Holy Land tend to employ rhetoric that is less harsh than that which deals with Muslims and Jews: Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia, 2014), 1–2.

6 Nina Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989* (Ann Arbor, 2011), 33.

7 'Tofore alle oþere honure him [God]; & 3oure maumet3 þu forsake' (*St Katherine*, l. 30): Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 235–36 (London, 1956), II, 534. This was a longstanding misrepresentation: despite Wolfram's non-polemical approach to Islam in *Willehalm*, for example, Muslims (identified as 'heathens') are portrayed as worshippers of a pantheon including Apollo, Tervigant, and Muhammad (*Willehalm*, 17, 19–22): Joachim Heinzle, ed., *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Willehalm*, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 9 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991).

8 Suzanne Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the*

in the decades after 1453, the Islamic other was no longer contained in a remote east, and this is reflected in the divisions drawn between different kinds of Muslim others, beyond the term 'heathen', which was generally used by pilgrims to mean Muslim in a general sense (although Breydenbach sometimes uses the term even more broadly). In the face of Ottoman expansion, established figures of western fear confined to the East, such as the Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land, usually identified, including by our pilgrims, as 'Saracens', were joined by the figure of the 'Turk', who was perceived to be a direct and violent threat to European Christian identity.[9] This distinction features heavily in later medieval pilgrimage writing.

The Jewish other was understood quite differently by German and English pilgrims. In fifteenth-century German society, Judaism represented a present, everyday religious other. Jewish people were, of course, a minority, but visible enough that they 'raised serious theological, social, and legal questions for their Christian counterparts'. Jewish settlements, though small in number, were no longer concentrated exclusively in cities, but widespread across the region.[10] Nonetheless, presence does not equate to acceptance, and the Jewish community in later medieval Germany was faced with a 'rapidly declining legal position', particularly from the late fourteenth century, in tandem with increasing marginalisation and stigmatisation – and marginalisation serves to (self-)define and (self-)identify broader society at least as much as it does to define and identify the marginalised group itself.[11] Under these circumstances, the marginalised group can be portrayed as an enemy existing within, and working against, the social mainstream. In late-medieval England, meanwhile, Jews retained a constant (and negatively depicted) presence in the English cultural imagination. This was detached, of course, from any real encounters, as there had not been a physical Jewish presence in the country since Edward I's persecution and expulsion of the entire Jewish community in 1290. Jewish presence in literature thus had to be explained with such phrases as 'wile bi olde dawe' [in the olden days] (*South English Legendary*, *St Theophilus*, l. 201)[12] – but this presence was so prevalent that scholars like Sylvia Tomasch have written of the importance to 'English religious devotion and national identity' of this 'virtual Jew' – a figure even

Orient, 1100–1450 (Ithaca and London, 2009), 280.

9 Sophia Rose Arjana, *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (Oxford, 2015), 58.

10 Dean Phillip Bell, *Sacred Communities: Jewish and Christian Identities in Fifteenth-Century Germany* (Boston, 2001), 72, 128.

11 Dean Phillip Bell, 'Marginalization and the Jews in Late Medieval Germany', *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, 16/2 (2011), 76, 73; František Graus, 'Randgruppen in der städtischen Gesellschaft im Spätmittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 8 (1981), 412.

12 Charlotte D'Evelyn and Anna J. Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 235–36 (London, 1956), I, 227.

less dependent on any actual representatives of the faith than standard constructions of the religious other.[13] This figure could take on stereotypical medieval antisemitic clichés rooted in fantasy, such as blood crimes, proselytization, and alliances with Muslims, and thus represent a direct threat to Christianity. And, although the 'virtual Jew' was entirely fictional, the figure had direct consequences for real Jewish people, 'who [had to] suffer for the sins of the virtual Jew'.[14] Moreover, while the 'virtual Jew' represented the totality of most English people's encounters with Judaism, the same stereotypical traits were applied to Jews in countries like Germany, where they lived day-to-day alongside Christians. The 'virtual Jew' thus existed in tandem with real Jewish communities and was not limited to societies whose contemporary experience of Jews was entirely imagined.

If, in medieval thought, 'the Jew [was] the figure *par excellence* of Europe's internal enemy, while the Arab or the Turk or Muslim more generally [was] the traditional external enemy',[15] non-Latin Christians were simply not a part of everyday discourse. Latin interaction with eastern Christians, Greeks in particular, did, however, have a long history, especially in the context of the Crusades, and Latin understanding of, and attitudes to, these Christians evolved across the thirteenth century,[16] although the Council of Florence (1431–49), which aimed to reunite the Latin, Greek, and Oriental churches, was ultimately unsuccessful. In fact, the Christian religious other in medieval Europe primarily took the form of the heretic – not just Europe's internal enemy, but the internal enemy of Christianity itself. Heresy in Germany was part of a broad European landscape – later medieval repression of heretics focused on Hussites and Waldensians. In England, however, heresy was consistently associated with Wycliffitism, despite a lack of clarity over any unity of belief amongst John Wyclif's supposed followers.[17] There was, in fact, an 'enormously varied spectrum of dissent' in later medieval England.[18] Heresy, coming from within Christianity, threatened unity – and unity of practice and experience, as our four pilgrims demonstrate, was key to medieval religious life and identity. When non-Latin Christians are described by our pilgrims, therefore, the terms

[13] Sylvia Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 243, 254. For a recent exploration of English identity construction with reference to Jews, see Heng, *The Invention of Race*, ch. 2: 'State/Nation: A Case Study of the Racial State: Jews as Internal Minority in England'.

[14] Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer', 254.

[15] Desmond Maurer, 'Minding Your Greeks and Jews: Europe's Imaginary Friends and Enemies', *Forum Bosnæ*, 55 (2012), 57.

[16] Olympios, 'Shared Devotions', 321.

[17] Maureen Jurkowski, 'Heresy and Factionalism at Merton College in the Early Fifteenth Century', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48/04 (1997), 659.

[18] Ian Forrest, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2005), 13.

used by way of contextualisation are often those of heresy – creating the impression of a semi-internal religious otherness.

Pilgrims Encountering the East

Thomas Larke, Arnold von Harff, and William Wey, while at times regarding those of different religious traditions as other than themselves (with the attendant implications for identity construction), are not systematically hostile. Certainly, although none of them admit members of other religions, or indeed anyone outside their own pilgrimage group, to the core of the pilgrimage experience, they do not use textual space as a means of exclusion, but describe groups as and when they meet them, as though their presence is, to some extent, incidental. This is particularly clear in the case of Thomas Larke.

For Larke, encountering and describing the other, of any type, is not a priority. He has no interest in non-Christian (or indeed, non-Catholic) religious practices, which does not mean that he does not engage in othering, simply that his acts of othering are largely, if not exclusively, unconscious or passive. In common with all four pilgrims, Larke uses the terms 'Turk', 'Saracen', and 'heathen' with distinct meanings. His references to the Turks tend to be in purely military terms, which is to say that he rarely focuses on any religious implications of Ottoman expansion. During the voyage from Venice, he comments: 'all the countre of Troya is the Turkes owne countre by inherytance, and that countre is properly called nowe Turkey, and none other. Neuerthelasse he hath lately vsurped Grece, with many other countreys, and calleth theym all Turkey.'[19] This, however, is a comment made without any personal investment. When Larke finds himself in potential danger, we see another approach:

> That daye was also tempestous outragiously, what by soden stormes of wyndes and fallynge ayen to calmes, and with rage of the wode wrought sees [rage of the furious seas], that it was meruayle to se, and with rayne and hayle more greuously than I haue sene before. And our moste noyaunce and ferefull grefe was that we had no porte nor hauyn to flee to for socoure and herborowe [harbour] but into Turkey or Barbary, into the handes of the Infidels and extreme enemyes of our Cristen fayth.[20]

This is a rare example of conscious religious othering and, while it represents his most hostile language, it indicates that, for Larke, negativity is generally triggered by proximity, particularly when that is threatening, rather than being part of a systematic approach. It is the presence of an imminent threat to his religious identity that triggers the language of othering.

19 Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), 13.

20 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 67–68.

The only other real example of conscious othering occurs when Larke details the inhabitants of Jerusalem. He mentions the city's Muslim inhabitants at this point in order consciously to exclude them: 'except the Sarrasyns, which I counte not'.[21] This represents a deliberate textual attempt to remove Muslims from anything like the pilgrimage space, particularly since he concedes that they, in reality, govern the city. At other times, 'Sarrasyns' are presented as a feature of the Holy Land, and Larke writes about them insofar as they impact upon his travels. His lack of an othering agenda is apparent from his description of an uncomfortable cave at Jaffa in which the pilgrims are shut upon disembarking, and again before departing at the end of their pilgrimage. On arrival, he writes:

> as we come out of the bote we were receyved by the Mamolukes and Sarrasyns, and put into an olde caue, by name and tale, there scryuan [a scribe was] euer wrytyng our names man by man as we entred in the presens of the sayd Lordes; and there we lay in the same grotte or caue Frydaye all day, vpon the bare, stykynge, stable grounde, as well nyght as daye, right euyll [evilly] intreated by the Maures.[22]

On their return, they find themselves confined to the same cave, and 'lay there in the grote all that nyght, and were right euyl intreated by the Sarrasyns many wayes, and in grete fere, whiche were longe to wryte, &c'.[23] While there is negativity – again triggered by physical proximity – his complaint is about the state of the cave and the actions of the 'Sarrasyns' or 'Maures', rather than the people, in direct contrast to his description of the Turks themselves as extreme enemies of the Christian faith. Larke is not interested in going into detail: this is a generic, if uncomfortable, pilgrimage experience, and the role of the 'Sarrasyns', 'Mamolukes', and 'Maures' does not require elaboration. They are simply present as features of that stage of the pilgrimage – at most as one of the expected trials of the penitential experience.

Indeed, Larke shows little interest in Muslims as people, or as a religious group. On the whole, in fact, his other observations on other religious communities are often neutral, or at least stated without an obvious agenda – for the duration of his time in the Holy Land itself, his tone tends to be dispassionate. This should not be regarded as tolerance in any modern sense; indeed it results in an unconscious kind of othering. On the one occasion upon which he does attempt to describe Muslim religious practice, on the subject of the Dome of the Rock, his inaccuracy betrays his lack of interest: 'The Sarrasyns haue this temple in grete reuerence, and specially they worshyp there a rok of

[21] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 23.
[22] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 16.
[23] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 56.

stone.'[24] Larke's text is the only one to make no mention of Muhammad – the practices of other religions are entirely outside his concern and experience.

Similarly, Larke is utterly uninterested in contemporary Jews in the Holy Land. Jews are mentioned only once from a purely historical perspective, when Larke includes them on a list of previous rulers of Jerusalem. A mental separation between Old Testament (positive) and a linked New Testament and contemporary Judaism (negative) is quite typical of medieval English writing,[25] but Larke goes further, barely acknowledging a continuing Jewish existence. He mentions the role of the 'Jewes' as a homogenous group in the Gospels, particularly where the Passion is concerned, but their relevance to him and his pilgrimage is simply that they enabled the biblical events whose locations he visits. They are entirely and inaccurately omitted from his list of current inhabitants of Jerusalem. There is only one reference to the Jews as an extant people in his account, and it is in passing. Larke mentions that during the pilgrims' time in Venice, 'we went also to Mestres, where the Iewes dwell'.[26] Just as Muslims are portrayed as features, rather than inhabitants, of Jerusalem, Jews are presented as a feature of Mestres. They are mentioned, but not commented upon. The account gives the impression of a Holy Land in which Jews are as much a purely historical presence as in late-medieval England. They are outside Larke's experience, and have no conscious bearing on his identity as a Christian or a pilgrim.

Ultimately, Larke's focus is almost single-mindedly on his pilgrimage, and he rarely allows himself to be distracted from it.[27] The act of participating in a pilgrimage confers his identity – an identity shared with the other pilgrims. He includes his audience in this identity on one of the rare occasions upon which he makes reference to non-Catholic Christians, noting that the 'Latyns otherwyse called Catholyk cristen men … of all sectes onely obedyent to our catholyke Churche'.[28] As he does not go into any detail about the other sects, this is not strictly a case of defining Catholic identity in opposition to non-Catholic identity, but represents Larke reaching out to, and including his audience. Nonetheless, by portraying membership of the Catholic Church as the default shared position, he incidentally defines anything else as other. The point of Larke's account is to note what the pilgrims have collectively encountered, rather than to provide any comment. The dispassionate tone and repeated use of other pilgrims' material emphasises the similarity of each pilgrimage experience: the entry into one universal event of pilgrimage is his main purpose in writing. And as far as Larke is concerned, other religions

[24] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 44–45.

[25] Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer', 249.

[26] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 9.

[27] An exception is his interest in the Venice arsenal: Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 7–8.

[28] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 23.

have little bearing on any stage of this experience, whereas for Harff, Wey, and Breydenbach, the presence of other religions affects their wider experience, if not their time at the holy places themselves. There is, therefore, no need for Larke to provide information on the appearance or practices of other religions, or to discuss a religious other.

Arnold von Harff is writing with an entirely different audience and purpose in mind, and his work brims with a sense of enquiry. Much of his account corresponds to a construction of the Orient in Said's terms, as 'a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences'.[29] Whereas medieval and pre-medieval geography divided the world into three (Asia, Europe, and Africa) Harff operates with a unified East.[30] Against this background, he necessarily has a more developed, or at least more conscious, sense of the other than Thomas Larke. He sees an essential and simplistic division between western Christendom and the places he visits. Western Christendom, the land of his readers, and the place to which he has returned, is frequently referred to as a place of familiarity ('in desen landen' [in these lands]),[31] and in contrast to the wonders of the East. This East comfortably encompasses Africa as far as the source of the Nile, which corresponds to Harff's understanding of the continent as the location of the earthly paradise. Despite this clear us-and-them distinction, however, Harff's text is as likely to depict encounters with members of other religions as it is to engage with ideas of otherness.

Harff's understanding of the East and its inhabitants is informed by his use of contemporarily circulating written works, from Ptolemy to Mandeville,[32] and probably also by *mappae mundi*. Maps in the Middle Ages were not simply geographical tools: 'many were designed to encompass concepts of time as well as space'.[33] This conflation of time and space is echoed by an understanding of pilgrimage as a conceptual space or ritual event that can be entered from anywhere at any time. Harff, however, missed the allegorical meaning understood by modern critics to be inherent in his sources,[34] and seems to view maps on a purely spatial level. His spiritual understanding of the world overlaps with his geographical understanding in a fairly literal

29 Said, *Orientalism*, 1.

30 Catherine Delano-Smith, 'The Intelligent Pilgrim: Maps and Medieval Pilgrimage to the Holy Land', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers 1050–1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester, 2004), 110–11; Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), 98.

31 E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), 91.

32 Delano-Smith, 'Maps and Medieval Pilgrimage', 110; Malcolm Letts, ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (London, 1946), xxvi–xxviii.

33 Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers viewed their World*, The British Library Studies in Map History, 1 (London, 1997, repr. 1999), viii.

34 Antonio García Espada, 'Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies', *Viator*, 40/1 (2009), 204.

sense. But not all of Harff's sources are fantastical or allegorical. One of his more prosaic sources is Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, and Harff's description of Greek Christians is heavily based on that provided by Breydenbach, at points being a literal translation, probably from Breydenbach's Early New High German, into Middle Low German. But whereas Breydenbach treats them in a separate section, independent from the narrative of his own travels, in Harff's text unfamiliar religious practices are typically described at the point of his encounter with them.[35] His section on Greek Christians is presented as a description of the religious practices of the people whom Harff met in Rhodes; where the effect in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* is polemical, the same cannot be said of Harff. While much of his text is directly drawn from other writers, his voice is his own – perhaps particularly when it comes to his encounters with members of other religions. He demonstrates the possibility of rewriting a text without taking its point with it.

Part of what distinguishes Harff's approach here is his tendency to seek out face-to-face encounters, and to see those he meets as people, rather than simply as representatives of a broader group. Harff's series of encounters with Mamluks, both in Egypt and in the Holy Land, is a common thread, drawing together a unified East. While he gives his audience a certain amount of collective description of Mamluks as a group,[36] Harff also has personal encounters with individual Mamluks. In Cairo, he becomes acquainted with two duytzsche [German] Mamluks, one of whom he introduces by his 'cristen namen Conraet van Basell' [Christian name, Conrad of Basel]. The other, he tells his audience, 'was van Danske geboeren' [Danish-born], but he does not name him. This is more than a one-off meeting. As Harff puts it, 'dese tzweyn bewijsten mir gar groysse fruntschaff' [these two showed me great friendship], partly in the form of wine drinking parties at their own houses, as well as those of local Jews and Christians.[37] Harff is always clear that Mamluks are 'verloneckende cristen' [renegade Christians],[38] and in that sense, there is a gulf – and a sense of judgement – between them. By expressing friendship with individual Mamluks, however, he largely resists the othering process– in keeping with modern research, which suggests that encounters with individual members of traditionally othered groups can increase tolerance.[39]

Thus, as well as being more interested than Larke, Harff has an understanding of religious differences less confrontational than Wey's or Breydenbach's. He is not especially interested in religious history or, generally,

35 Harff is content to use non-Christians to enable him to access additional pilgrimage sites, but this does not constitute allowing them access to the textual space of pilgrimage. See Chapter 3, 135–40.

36 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 103–05.

37 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 86.

38 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 76.

39 Elizabeth Levy Paluck, 'How to Overcome Prejudice', *Science*, 352/6282 (2016), 147.

in theological debate. His interest is in the everyday religious practices of various groups, and this begins with the most fundamental means of differentiating between their members: appearance. He writes 'man kendt die cristen, heyden, turcken ind juden an deser gestalt as hie vnden geconterfeyt steyt' [one can recognise Christians, heathens, Turks, and Jews from their appearance, as depicted below].[40] Nevertheless, because Harff's own religious understanding is entirely formed by his Christian identity, so is the terminology he uses to describe other religious groups. The three Christian denominations in Cairo, for example – Greeks, Jacobites, and Syrians – 'hauen in deser stat eynen patriarchen deme sij gehoirsam sijnt nae der geystlicheyt, as wir dem pays zo Rome sijnt' [have a patriarch in this city, to whom they are spiritually subject, as we are to the Pope in Rome].[41] This type of parallelism occurs frequently in pilgrimage writing. Larke explains the word 'Muskey' [mosque] as 'theyr Churche or Chapell', and 'theyr temple', the former of which is familiarising, the latter somewhat distancing.[42] Harff, similarly, uses Christian parallels to contextualise Islam, describing 'yere meskijte, dat sijnt kirchen' [their mosques, that is, churches] and 'yer paffen' [their priests].[43] He has no language reference points other than Christian, and he uses Christian language, not to validate non-Christian religious practices, but to make them comprehensible. This contextualisation with reference to Christianity is not limited to simple linguistic parallelism. In Cairo, Harff is concerned to identify differences between popular Christian beliefs, and those of 'dese heyden' [these heathens] who,[44] he concedes, 'fruchten got gar sere' [fear God greatly].[45] These differences are: that the Cairo Muslims do not believe that a person can be possessed by the devil; they do not believe that a soul can remain on earth after death, believing that judgement occurs immediately after death; and they do not believe in Purgatory.[46] Not sophisticated issues, then, but features of everyday popular religion, as though Harff cannot conceive that a greater disparity might exist. In common with most pilgrims, Christianity is the default position in his understanding, although – unlike Breydenbach – he does not weaponise this view. In this case, these differences of belief are stated, but not commented upon; they are a matter of interest, not of condemnation.

Expressing friendship with Mamluks and showing an apparently neutral interest, however, does not mean that Harff looks favourably upon non-Christian religious views, and he makes quite clear his own religious

40 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 95.
41 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 95.
42 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 20, 29.
43 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 99.
44 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 97.
45 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 99.
46 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 97.

attachment, and associated views about Mamluks and other religious groups. At times, he takes personal ownership of criticism: on the practice of calling upon Muhammad, Harff notes: 'dae inne mich dunkt dat sij gantz yrrent' [in this, I think that they err greatly], while his comparison of the posture of prayer to the manner in which 'snijder in desen landen sittzen' [as tailors sit in these lands] associates sacred Islamic practice with profane and lowly mercantile activity – Harff is, after all, greatly concerned with status and nobility.[47] He also discusses the falling sickness (epilepsy), explaining that if it strikes during prayer, the sufferer is questioned by bystanders about what happened. Harff writes that he has witnessed worshippers who, when questioned, 'sagen, sij sijnt zeder zo Meka bij Machemet yerm propheten geweest mit yeme gesprochen, dat yen is verboeden nae zo sagen' [they have been to Mecca, to their prophet Muhammad, but are forbidden to speak of it]. Anyone who gives this response is viewed as 'eynen heyligen man' [a holy man]. Harff makes his views of the people who respond thus quite clear: they are 'qwaede schelck' [wicked rogues].[48] Harff, then, has a tendency to view his own religious views as self-evidently correct, although he tends to make clear that he is sharing his personal opinion, rather than preaching to his audience. So, although he may describe other religious practices fairly neutrally at times, he is in no doubt as to his own religious identity, or the veracity of his beliefs – which may explain his general lack of recourse to the language of othering, at least where Islam is concerned. Identity construction is not a part of his remit.

Despite being happy to drink wine with the Jewish population of Cairo, Harff's broadly neutral interest does not extend to them. The clearest example of an anti-Jewish attitude in his text is an anecdote about a 'quait verlouffen jude' [wicked itinerant Jew],[49] in which Harff calls upon the established stereotype of the wandering Jew, an immortal figure who was believed to have abused Jesus on the way to Golgotha, and whose legend had begun to spread in the thirteenth century.[50] To this particular 'verlouffen jude', Harff ascribes a version of a widespread legend about a bird trained to eat from its owner's ear, creating the impression of divine inspiration.[51] According to Harff, the Jew uses this false 'goetz geyst' [divine spirit] to persuade the inhabitants of Cairo to abandon Muhammad, before absconding with their money, at which point they realise that they have been betrayed. This, Harff says, proves 'dat

47 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 99.

48 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 97.

49 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 105.

50 Richard I. Cohen, 'The "Wandering Jew" from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor', in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia, 2008), 148.

51 Muhammad is the more usual protagonist of this anecdote, and it is included in this form in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*: Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 302–04.

dat volck lijchtlichen geleufft' [that these people are quick to believe].[52] In this brief story, he creates an association between Jews and Muslims, a common and damaging late-medieval assertion, which portrayed Jews as in league with a powerful external enemy;[53] questions the intelligence of ordinary followers of other religions; and plays into the stereotype of the greedy Jew. The 'verlouffen jude', in this context, is certainly portrayed as other, while the local Muslims are represented less as a monolithic and hostile other than as a foolish group, ripe for conversion – not that Harff sees that as a job for himself. This is not the only occasion upon which Harff draws a link between Jews and Muslims. He tells, for example, of being imprisoned on arrival in Gaza and, advising that one should always pay tolls, whatever one may have heard to the contrary, he adds 'ouch dat er sich hoede vur bekoeronge heydenscher wijffer. ouch hoede er sich vur juden' [one should also beware of the temptation of heathen women, and also beware of Jews].[54] Whatever the incident that gave rise to this sage counsel, Harff takes no responsibility upon himself for his misfortune and appears to unite in blaming Jews and 'heathens' for an imprisonment that seems, primarily at least, to have resulted from his refusal to pay tolls, although one cannot help wondering about the women.

Despite these incidents, Harff does not tend to other the different groups with which he comes into contact. Although he does not form any friendships with Jews, as he does with Mamluks, which may explain his tendency to characterise Jews negatively, he acknowledges moral variation within each broad religious group: 'Wye naerre Rome wye quaeder cristen; wie naerre Jherusalem wie quaeder joede; wye naerre Meka wye quaeder heydt, dat ich ouch in der waerheit also funden haeff' [the nearer to Rome, the wickeder the Christian; the nearer to Jerusalem, the wickeder the Jew; the nearer to Mecca, the wickeder the heathen, which I have found to be true].[55] His understanding of a unified East does not extend to an understanding of a unified religious other that inhabits it. Various religious groups, including some Christians, whom he is happy to categorise as such despite their unfamiliarity – not a universal view – inhabit this exotic place. Harff does have purely Christian points of reference, but there is no sense of an attempt to define a unified Christian identity with reference to a non-Christian other. Rather, he attempts to contextualise other religions with reference to Christianity. Instead of understanding, and sectioning off, a monolithic religious other, Harff generally has encounters with other religions.

William Wey's approach is arguably more limited than Harff's, though more multi-faceted than Larke's. While his observations on other religious groups are worked into the text, as with Harff and Larke, rather than occupying a separate

52 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 105–06.
53 Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer', 245.
54 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 160.
55 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 40.

section, as is the case with Breydenbach, his tone can at times tend towards the polemical. Whereas Larke seems to view occasional mistreatment by the 'Sarrasyns' as an inevitable part of the pilgrimage, Wey assigns a deliberate and negative agency to them, directed towards the pilgrims because of their Christian faith. Shortly after his pilgrim group disembarks in the Holy Land, Wey describes witnessing a 'multitudine sarazeni equitantes' [great number of mounted Saracens] approaching, carrying a banner depicting a chalice and the Host 'in despectum Christianorum' [in disdain for Christians].[56] In this case, the group are depicted as a mocking enemy – the other with regard to the newly arrived pilgrims. On the whole, however, Wey's approach to Muslims is closer to Larke's than to Harff's extensive interest, or any concentrated othering. They are a little more than a feature of life in the Holy Land, but not a serious problem. Nonetheless, his tone is broadly negative, rather than neutral. He warns potential pilgrims amongst his readers, 'also take goyd hede of yowre kynves and other smal thynges that ye ber apon yow for the Sarsenes wyl go talkying wyth yow and make goyd chere, but they wyl stele fro yow that ye haue and they may'.[57] Where Harff claims to find friendship from Muslims on an individual basis, Wey claims to find duplicity as a whole.

If the Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land are not generally portrayed as causing enough trouble to be considered a single, hostile other, the same is not true of the Turks, or Ottomans. Wey's history of Flak's campaign against them is filled with references to 'Turcus'.[58] The use of the singular emphasises the Turks as a monolithic other, and was widely used. His inclusion of this episode is revealing in itself. It has no bearing on any of the events of his pilgrimage, but is presented as an anecdote heard in Rhodes. Despite being reported at the point of the journey at which Wey claims to have heard it, it disrupts the narrative. In this sense, therefore, the Turks intrude into the textual space of the pilgrimage account, just as Wey represents them intruding into Europe. Once they are repelled by Baron Flak, Wey closes the intrusion into his text with 'Deo gracias' [thanks be to God], and returns to his journey.[59] Wey does not avoid describing Flak's brutality, which is particularly extreme towards his treacherous brother, or the wholesale slaughter of his enemies, but he represents it as just, because it is worthy of thanks to God:

> et occiderunt quarto bello triginta milia Turcorum. Et ipse Flak accepit fratrem suum, et posuit palum in fundamento eius, et fecit palum intrare usque ad guttur eius …

56 William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470), fol. 37r; Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857), 58–59.

57 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 7r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 7.

58 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 62r–63v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 99–101. See Chapter 1, 46.

59 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 63v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 101.

> Istud audientes milites de Rodys pro gaudio pulsabant campanas, et cantabant Te Deum ad Dei laudem et honorem.[60]
>
> [And in the fourth battle, they killed 30,000 Turks. And the said Flak took his brother, and put a stake into his rectum, and inserted it as far as his throat … Hearing this, the soldiers of Rhodes rang bells for joy and sang the *Te Deum* to praise and honour God]

Wey does not explicitly describe the Turks as enemies of Christianity, or mention their religious adherence – but he does not need to. He identifies the dates of significant defeats of Ottoman armies with important feasts, not to mention his concluding thanks to God. He thus implicitly condemns the Turks as enemies of God, a key othering tactic, used on one occasion by Larke, and frequently by Breydenbach.

Wey's attitude to Jews is heavily informed by his English origins. He states, with a certain triumph, during the account of his pilgrimage to Compostela: 'nec erat aliqua nacio, que habuit communicacionem cum Judeo, processiones, missam et sermonem, nisi Anglici' [there was not a single other nation that had a conversation with a Jew, processions, Mass, and a sermon, except for the English].[61] It has been argued, on the basis of this conversation, that Wey has an enlightened attitude towards Jews but,[62] in fact, Wey's statement seems to represent pride in the varied activities of the English pilgrims, rather than an endorsement of the Jew with whom the pilgrims spoke. A conversation with a Jew would be a particular novelty for Englishmen, but not for other travellers. Moreover, the Jew with whom Wey's pilgrim group spoke remains anonymous. He or she is represented simply as an unusual encounter in a checklist of exciting pilgrimage activities managed by the English. Although the setting is Compostela in Galicia, a part of Spain that was always under Christian rule, we are reminded again of Said's exotic Orient. There is no recognition of personhood, friendship, or even social activities, as we see in Harff's encounters with the people of Cairo. Furthermore, any positive reading of Wey's attitude to Jews or Judaism on the basis of this one conversation cannot withstand his inclusion of a number of typically antisemitic anecdotes, including one set in St Mark's Basilica: 'est ymago Christi Crucifixi percussa a Iudeo cum pugione quinquies que sanguinabat' [there is a likeness of Christ's crucifixion that was stabbed with a dagger by a Jew five times, and which bled].[63] This story fits easily against the background of late-medieval English understanding of Jews. The representation of the Jew stabbing a depiction of Christ, and its resultant bleeding, clearly calls to mind the idea of Jews as desecrators of the host, a frequent trope in depictions of 'the "virtual

60 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 63r–63v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 101.

61 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 100r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 154.

62 Francis Davey, tran., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010), 168, n. 25.

63 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 33r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 53.

Jew", in the absence of actual Jews'.[64] Wey is reinforcing standard late-medieval English conceptions of Jews, which are classically othering.

Wey's approach to the religious other is distinctive in one particular respect: on several occasions, he mentions the possibility of conversion – in other words, a path away from otherness. One reference is to a vague future point in time: following the fulfilment of the prophecy that, when the Holy Land is restored to Christians, a certain dead tree will bear fruit and this miracle will lead to the conversion of many Jews and Muslims.[65] Even as the possibility of ceasing to be other is offered, Jews and Muslims are combined in a way that reinforces their otherness. Later, a more tangible possibility of conversion appears. Wey and the company come to Ramla 'et ibi expectavimus per duos dies, quia Sarazeni essent ibi ad transeundum nobiscum ut converterentur ad fidem nostram' [and there we waited for two days, for Saracens who were to travel with us and convert to our faith].[66] Given Wey's tendency to treat his audience as fellow pilgrims, it is likely that the reference to 'fidem nostram' refers to both his literal and virtual accompanying pilgrims, as well as anyone else encountering his book. These unnamed representatives of another religion are to be inducted into the faith shared by Wey, the other pilgrims, and his audience.

Non-Latin Christians are not mentioned in the context of conversion. Indeed, they rarely feature in Wey's work, and most sects he lets pass without comment, writing – like Harff and Larke – that each has its own place in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre 'ad laudandum Deum' [to praise God].[67] But there is an exception in the shape of the Nestorians, who Wey decrees are 'heretici et scismatici' [heretics and schismatics]. The reason behind his particular dislike of Nestorius (and by association his followers) is that 'ab illo surrexit ille falsus traditor Machometus' [from them rose up the false traitor, Muhammad].[68] This is a simplification of a prevalent medieval legend that Muhammad had been instructed by a heretical Nestorian monk named Sergius.[69] With this brief statement, Wey aims to discredit by association the Nestorian claim to Christianity, as well as the foundations of Islam, representing it as the offspring of heretical Christianity, and the work of a traitor. Beyond this, he has little to say on the subject of non-Latin Christians, either in Jerusalem or elsewhere, and they are not generally depicted as other.

64 Tomasch, 'Postcolonial Chaucer', 243–44.

65 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 32r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 51.

66 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 61v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 98–99.

67 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 48r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 78.

68 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 21r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 33.

69 Steven J. McMichael, 'The Night Journey (al-Isrāʾ) and Ascent (al-Miʿrāj) of Muhammad in Medieval Muslim and Christian Perspectives', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 22/3 (2011), 300. This legend is cited by Breydenbach: Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 302.

Although Wey does not devote a particular section of his work to criticism of the religious other, he does make use of many standard othering techniques: representation of the religious other as bloodthirsty enemies of God, references to standard antisemitic traditions, heretical associations, and linking religious groups together in order to discredit both. And although he acknowledges individual members of other religions, such as his conversation with the Jew, who represents novelty, and the 'Saracens' who were to convert, and are therefore moving away from otherness, they are nonetheless defined exclusively by their state of non-Christianity. But there does not appear to be a unifying purpose behind these incidents. Wey is not constructing identity in any systematic way, although he may be reinforcing it – he expects that his audience share 'fidem nostram' [our faith], and he encourages them also to share his pilgrimage experience. This, if anything, is his purpose. Creation of a religious other is an occasional side effect.

Bernhard von Breydenbach and the Religious Other

Unlike Thomas Larke, Bernhard von Breydenbach is not deterred by the idea that something will require a lot of writing. For him, pilgrimage is as much an enterprise with pedagogical potential as a penitential act, and his extensive sections on Islam, Judaism, and non-Latin Christianity provide a structure for his creation of a monolithic religious other. Although he claims that he will provide information on the customs, habits, and errors of those who live in the Holy Land, his real interest is in that last category, 'yrtummen' [errors],[70] and his textual journey thus becomes a means through which he teaches his audience about how these religious communities are incorrect, hostile, and even dangerous – in a word, other – and thus how their existence, customs, and habits threaten the Latin Christian identity of Breydenbach and his audience. Yet the existence of an other is paradoxically an inherent part of Breydenbach's construction of religious identity, and he is not alone. This 'othering impulse' is common throughout the medieval Latin West,[71] particularly where polemic is concerned – a genre to which *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* owes a great deal:

> Polemical statements about heretics derive their significance from articulating Christian identity. Their focus is often not an attack against specific theological positions with a view to changing the opponent's view, as in conversion dialogues, but rather the definition of cultural identity in opposition to an

[70] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 284.

[71] Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 88.

> external 'Other'. This need for the 'Other' in turn explains why the opposition is carefully preserved.[72]

To define oneself by what one is not remains a common means of defining identity on an individual and communal level. It is not simply a case of presenting two opposing identities, but of making a clear value judgement about their relative worth, or, in Said's words, 'setting the valorized culture over the Other'.[73] For Breydenbach, the 'valorized culture' is the Latin Church, which he defines in the following terms:

> Zů lobe vnd ere vnserem eynigen waren cristenlichen glauben vnd der heiligen gemeynen Rőmischen kyrchen, welche on mackel vnd runtzel eyn schone sponsa oder brutt yrem sponso cristo, dem waren brutkemmer getrulichen belybet vereyniget … vnd sie ym machete vnbefleckt reyn vnd clar.[74]
>
> [To the praise and honour of our one true Christian faith and the holy, unified Roman Church, which remains faithfully united with her husband, Christ, the true bridegroom, as a beautiful wife or bride … and made for him unblemished, pure, and radiant.]

The Church is set up in terms of perfection. To be outside it, to be other, is to be separated from the Church, and thus to be separated from God. And this other, over which the Church is set, serves a purpose – indeed, as far as Breydenbach is concerned, there must be a religious other, clearly defined as such. To this end, in addition to his lengthy diatribes against Muslims, Jews, and non-Latin Christians, he also criticises 'alle, die so villicht vermeynen mőchten, eyn yeden menschen in synem glauben, gesatz oder sect můgen selig werden' [all those who might believe that any person can be saved within his own belief, law, or sect].[75] As he explains: 'Jst alleyn eyn eyniger warer glaub, als eß dan ist, so volget von not das her vß, daz alle, die die eyn andern glauben oder sect haben, yrren' [Since there is one true belief, which there is, it necessarily follows that those who follow another belief or sect are in error].[76] This is the logical conclusion of Breydenbach's worldview. To accept that holiness is to be found in other religious practice would undermine the religious identity he builds up and defends. Those who do not belong to the one correct belief system are in dangerous error: 'dyse yrtum ist vil menschen gar schedlich vnd ein vrsach yrer verdampnüß' [this error is very dangerous

72 Almut Suerbaum, 'Language of Violence: Language as Violence in Vernacular Sermons', in *Polemic: Language as Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Discourse*, ed. Almut Suerbaum, George Southcombe, and Benjamin Thompson (Farnham, 2015), 134–35.

73 Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, 1983), 12.

74 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 286.

75 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 24, 452–70.

76 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 454.

to many people, and is a cause of their damnation].[77] Those, therefore, who argue that one can be saved outside the Latin Church, are the greatest threat to the identity he promotes. And so it matters that those who do not belong to the Roman Church are held at a distance – bridging the gap by allowing for the possibility of sanctity within other traditions threatens the Church's monopoly on truth and authority, while emphasising the gulf between the valorised Church and the other reinforces it.

Yet all is not well within the Church, as even Breydenbach concedes towards the end of what we might term the religious other section of *Peregrinatio*, and those who believe that salvation can be found anywhere are only a small part of the issue. Although this topic is broached after his description of the inhabitants of the Holy Land, so as not to interfere with the idealised image of the Church offered as a counterpoint to the Islamic, Jewish, and non-Latin Christian other, it nonetheless provides evidence as to the incentive behind the attempt to construct a shared Latin Christian identity. The Church, it transpires, is threatened as much from within as without. One the one hand, 'die geistlichen prelaten vnd die gantz pfaffheyt so vbel leben, als dan nit mag gelaugnet werden' [the holy prelates and the entire priesthood live such evil lives that it cannot be denied], and the laity are thus led astray.[78] On the other hand, Christian nobles have 'wyder eyn ander gekeret, die scharpffen swerth die sie yn den helsen der vngleubigen gott solten wyhen, beflecken sie … mit yrem eygem blůdt' [turned against one another. Their sharp swords, which should be held to the throats of the unbelievers, are stained with one another's blood].[79] It is in the light of these internal threats to Latin Christian identity – threats that would culminate in the beginnings of the Reformation only thirty years later – that we must read the extensive descriptions and criticisms of the other religions present in the Holy Land.[80] The idealised image of the Church held up in contrast to other religious groups serves as a continual reminder to the audience of the prize offered by their own religious identity, while the formation of these groups into a hostile religious other depicts them as an existential threat to Latin Christianity: a motivation to overcome internal

77 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 458.

78 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 498. Breydenbach goes into far more detail about problems with the clergy in the Latin text: Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (Mainz, 1486), fols 92r–94v.

79 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 502.

80 That, Breydenbach, a man so utterly convinced of the ultimate righteousness of the Latin Church, should include this reference to the improper behaviour of priests, must indicate how widely known these actions were, or at least the scale of the problem as he perceives it. In his Latin text, which is directly aimed at the clergy, Breydenbach inserts the long section referenced in note 78 above, which attacks the wickedness of ambitious priests. Here the intended audience is lay, and he cuts down his addresses to clerical figures.

differences, to embrace the valorised identity offered, and to unite against an external enemy.

This negative comparison between the idealised Roman Church and the disparaged other is reinforced throughout the text by use of a simple technique: repetition. Breydenbach regularly uses the same negative vocabulary to refer to other religious groups, even when they are only mentioned in passing. Words like 'verflucht' [accursed] and 'schendtlich' [shameful] are constantly reiterated in order to create an association. The technique of repetition is also carried on in other ways, so that Breydenbach consistently reinforces a negative view of other religious groups, and of the 'Sarracenen' in particular. Outside his polemical writings, this tends less towards inherently negative words, and more towards repeated references to the harmful ways in which he perceives the Muslims in the Holy Land to have acted. These include preventing Christians from rebuilding the house of Our Lady and refusing to allow pilgrims to be made Knights of the Holy Sepulchre, with the result that the ceremony is carried out at night.[81] While these kinds of aside are overwhelmingly directed at Muslims, antisemitic stories are also noted in passing, such as the story of a dough image of Christ made and crucified by a group of Jews, which then bled,[82] or the description of a gate through which Jews are literally unable to pass.[83] These stories have absolutely no other relevance to the matter in hand. He says little about non-Latin Christians during the pilgrimage accounts themselves, refusing to describe them in context when visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, although he does make sure to note that 'sich doch al cristen vermeynen aber yn warheyt syn sie mit vil yrtungen vnnd ketzeryen verwickelt' [they all claim to be Christians, but in reality are embroiled in error and heresy].[84] His references to Jews and non-Latin Christians, however, pale in comparison to the frequency with which negative comments about Muslims, whether identified as 'Turks' or 'Saracens', punctuate his account.

Beyond this generalised repetition, the structure of the text is purposely designed to further Breydenbach's othering purpose. It is true that all four of our pilgrim authors seek to protect the pilgrimage space from contemporary life. Each creates the illusion of their visits to the holy places being secluded; the only people usually mentioned are those directly connected with the pilgrimage, whether they are in the Kidron Valley, or in the middle of Jerusalem. The contemporary presence of others would, after all, interfere with the construction of the unchanging 'meme' Jerusalem. The effects of other people's past interactions with the sites are to be seen – for example, the Tombs of the Patriarchs are inaccessible because 'die Sarraceni … selber

81 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 124, 168.
82 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 196.
83 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 554–56.
84 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 146.

eyn kyrch oder muschkeam … do haben gebuwet' [the Saracens have built themselves a church or mosque there],[85] but the pilgrimage experience itself is separated from the realities of fifteenth-century Jerusalem as far as possible. When interaction with the contemporary 'heyden' is necessary, they remain external to the sacred space: they take payment before the pilgrims enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and then shut the pilgrims in, themselves remaining outside.[86] Thus, in every case, they can be removed from the pilgrimage space, even if they continue to pose an external threat. References to other religious groups usually occur in the descriptions of the pilgrims' wider travels at the point at which they were encountered: Harff's description of the Greek Christians in Rhodes, for example. According to this pattern, descriptions or lists of non-Latin Christians routinely occur in descriptions of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.[87] This suggests that they are understood to belong to a slightly special category, adjacent to the pilgrimage space, and certainly a step closer than the local Muslims who lock the pilgrims in and remain outside. Nonetheless, they tend to be described at the start of the visit, along with a description of general features of the building, and before getting down to the business of visiting the holy places, and so remain fundamentally excluded from the pilgrimage space.

In his textual separation, however, Breydenbach goes a step further than the other authors. His book, as we have seen, is bracketed by two summaries of its content as the accounts of two pilgrimages, one to the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, and one to the grave of the virgin martyr, St Catherine, at Mount Sinai.[88] The initial outline adds that, between these two journeys, there is a description of the land and the customs of its inhabitants ('sich strecket mit beschribung der land vnd syten der ynwoner dar zwüschen').[89] In this case, the presence of the description is flagged, but its position as separate from the pilgrimages is emphasised. The closing summary omits to mention the descriptions – with hindsight, they are essentially removed from the text, which correspondingly becomes simply a book of pilgrimages. Breydenbach's structural approach to acknowledging the presence of non-Christians in the Holy Land, while seeking – as far as possible – to remove them from the conceptual and textual space occupied by the pilgrimage itself, is unique amongst our pilgrim authors. Moreover, he excludes non-Latin denominations both from Christianity, and from his description of the Church of the

[85] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 126.

[86] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 42r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 67; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 132; Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 22–23; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 168.

[87] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 21r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 33; Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 23; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 174–76.

[88] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 724.

[89] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 6.

Holy Sepulchre, and isolates most of his discussion of the religious other within a single section of the work, which therefore merits a closer look.

Breydenbach's *Register*, or list of contents, appears near the start of the book. This begins with an outline of the introduction and its purpose. He then lists in detail the places that are to be described in the section about the journey to Jerusalem. Next – represented in its correct place – comes the section on the 'glauben, secten, sytten vnd gewonheyten der ynwoner der selbigen stett, besunder in dem heyligen land' [beliefs, sects, habits, and customs of the inhabitants of these places, particularly of the Holy Land]. This is broken down into some detail, listing each and every group to be discussed. Lastly, Breydenbach ties the content of the section together: it is to conclude with a disputation against those who believe that salvation can be found in any tradition; a discussion of problems within so-called Christian countries; three laments, one over the Holy Land, one over the Church in the East, and one over the Church in the West; a call to action to the Christian princes; and a reproduction of a vision seen by Emperor Charles, probably the Bald. A final paragraph then informs the readers about the contents of the section on the pilgrimage to Sinai and the return journey, and a short note that something will be included on recent Turkish victories, which in practice is another separate section, offering a further opportunity for polemic.[90]

While the book as a whole is divided into clearly defined parts, Breydenbach's section on the different religious groups is itself set out according to a clear hierarchy of otherness. 'Zum ersten' [First], he writes, he will tell his audience 'von den sarracenen, welcher yrtum vnd verfluchte sect baß zů erluteren werden von yrem verfůrer vnd falschen propheten Machometh diß nachgende artickel vervolget' [of the Saracens. In order better to elucidate their errors and accursed sect, the following article details their corrupter and false prophet, Muhammad].[91] While this description is then broken down into several constituent parts, Breydenbach announces his intention to deal with the other groups 'kurtzlich' [briefly], beginning with the Jews and then, in the same list, the non-Latin Christian denominations, which he does not identify in the *Register* as having any association with Christianity.[92] Islam, then, tops this hierarchy of otherness by quite some way – largely because of the earthly power of its representatives in comparison to that of the other groups. Breydenbach is open about his dislike for the 'heyden nemlich reygerer der statt Jherusalem' [heathens, namely the rulers of the city of Jerusalem],[93] and, just as he devotes more space and vitriol towards Islam in the *Register*, so substantially more space and vitriol is devoted to Islam in the corresponding section of the text.

90 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 18–26.
91 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 20.
92 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 22.
93 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 132.

The *Register* is not the only evidence of organisation; the text as a whole is meticulously organised and filled with structural signposts. At the beginning of each section and subsection, the rationale for its positioning appears, while a self-conscious explanation is often provided, such as 'Daz aber ich ordenlichen furvare in dyser matery' [So that I can proceed with this material in an orderly fashion].[94] In addition to excluding the religious other from the textual space of the pilgrimage, this careful organisation assists Breydenbach in situating the work in the academic and literary context of its sources, particularly when he is discussing other religious groups. The information provided (usually) has its origins in identified texts, rather than being portrayed as information gathered during Breydenbach's own travels – along the lines of Said's description of pre-Enlightenment experience of the Orient as a '*learned* (and not existential) tradition'.[95] Although he sets the descriptions of religious practices in the East within an account of his own pilgrimage, albeit carefully separated from any devotional context, Breydenbach opts to rely on written tradition in order to discuss them, and therefore much of this part of the book is composed of paraphrasing or directly copying from other, often well-known, works, many of which are referenced by name.[96] Breydenbach's pilgrim travelling companion, Paul Walther von Guglingen, whose Latin text is the primary source for Breydenbach's descriptions of other religions, is an exception. Much of the section on Islam, Judaism, and non-Latin Christianity is translated (in the case of the German text) and adapted from Book VII of Guglingen's *Treatise*, an eight-book history of the Holy Land, which directly follows the same author's travelogue in the only surviving manuscript.[97] The

[94] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 290.

[95] Said, *Orientalism*, 211. Author's italics.

[96] See Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, xxiv; Frederike Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach von 1486 und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs* (Stuttgart, 2006), 80–97. This is different from the repetition of the words of fellow pilgrims when describing the holy places, in order to create the impression of a unified pilgrimage experience. For the conceptual and practical implications of the practice of repeating the words of other pilgrims, see Chapters 1 and 4.

[97] That is, many elements of Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 285–474. Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck has analysed the Guglingen manuscript and text in detail (Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c.1480–1650): Theology, Travel, and Territoriality* (Leiden and Boston, 2019), 22–29, 126–69), identifying it conclusively as Breydenbach's source for this section (126–27). The manuscript is held at the Staatliche Bibliothek in Neuburg an der Donau (04/Hs. IHR 10, 'Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam. Waltherus, Paulus'); Marianne P. Ritsema van Eck, 'Encounters with the Levant: The Late Medieval Illustrated Jerusalem Travelogue by Paul Walter von Guglingen', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 32/2 (2017), 178, n. 20. The text of the travelogue, along with some sections of the treatise, was edited by Matthias Sollweck in 1892: M. Sollweck, ed., *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam* (Tübingen, 1892). Sollweck edits little from Guglingen's descriptions, stating simply that Breydenbach's are similar (303–11), and identifies Guglingen as Breydenbach's source on the basis that Guglingen spent longer

order in which Breydenbach deals with the different religious groups in the Holy Land, which in his *Peregrinatio* becomes a hierarchy of otherness, is itself borrowed from Guglingen, though Guglingen provides a clearer rationale for his order, which covers all communities in the Holy Land, including Latin Christians.[98] In this context, it is thus not a hierarchy of otherness, but a ranking of relative morality of all the religious groups with a presence in the Holy Land. By eliminating the Latin Christians in Jerusalem from the list, the effect is changed – these are not many groups, including the familiar, but simply different varieties of the other. Despite Breydenbach's indebtedness to Guglingen – and despite the fact that both men conclude with a (different) call to crusade – where Guglingen produces a 'continuous history of the Holy Land', in which the ethnographic descriptions play an integral part,[99] in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* the section on the religious other plays as an interruption, disrupting the continuity of the pilgrimage experience. As pilgrim authors do on so many occasions, and as Breydenbach himself does with other sources, he takes first-person ownership of the words of others, interweaving them with the rest of the text, and making them an integral and indistinguishable part of the work he identifies as his own.[100] Through his use of Guglingen, Breydenbach deliberately rejects the opportunity to create his own experiential tradition of the Orient when writing about peoples with whom he had a certain amount of direct contact – and yet he still chooses not to acknowledge Guglingen. Doing so would lend no additional authority to the work: Guglingen's text was not widely circulated, and survives in only one manuscript.[101] Nonetheless, Breydenbach's use of it is indicative of an approach to compiling a text which holds that originality is indicative of unreliability, and that words which have been used before are inherently more trustworthy. In practice, this is a two-way street: Breydenbach uses Guglingen's unacknowledged written authority to lend weight to the composition process of his text

in the Holy Land than Breydenbach (303, n. 1). Breydenbach has a wider audience in mind than Guglingen, as well as a distinct purpose, and he prefaces his depictions quite differently. It is through Breydenbach's use of Guglingen's text that the descriptions achieved wide circulation: Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, 'Walther, Paul (von Guglingen) OFM', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1999), x, col. 657; Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 28. It is also through Breydenbach that they found their way into German. The descriptions in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* were then reused by Felix Fabri: Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 91.

98 Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 142.

99 Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 152.

100 On this basis, when analysing these sections of *Peregrinatio*, the textual persona 'Breydenbach' continues to be identified as the author.

101 In the past, it certainly existed in more than one copy, but was never widely circulated: Ritsema van Eck, *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts*, 27.

but, given the almost guaranteed circulation of his own book, he then lends his named credibility to Guglingen's more obscure research.

When possible, however, Breydenbach shows a preference for enlisting the authority of a named writer, identifying his sources and emphasising their trustworthiness. This is intended to create an air of reliability extending beyond the immediate reference or quotation – Breydenbach's referencing system demonstrates a certain lack of transparency. In his 'clag vber das gantz orient' [lament over the whole Orient],[102] for example, Breydenbach invokes St Ambrose as an authority for his view of the Church, writing that he 'offt saget yn den heiligen concilien vnd sust, daz er yn allen dingen wolt syn meisteryn die rômisch kirch eren' [often said in holy councils and so on that he wanted to honour his mistress, the Roman Church, in everything].[103] We are given no direct source, or even a quotation, but instead a summary corresponding precisely to Breydenbach's own opinions. The subsequent reference to St Jerome leaves it entirely unclear where the use of Jerome ends, and Breydenbach's own thoughts on the 'hoffart vnd vngehorsamkeyt' [pride and disobedience] of the Greek Church begin, not to mention the following allusion to 'all lerer vnd geschrifften' [all teachers and Scriptures], who also happen to share Breydenbach's views on the Roman Church.[104] The broad and partially referenced invocation of authority contrasts starkly with the total failure to name Guglingen as a source anywhere in *Peregrinatio*. It is particularly evident in the extensive polemical sections on 'Saracens'. This approach, however, is also rather misleading – we read, for example, that: 'der lerer Vincencius beluacensis yn synem bůch genant speculum historiale schribet gar vil von disen sachen, dar vß auch dise historia des grossern teyles ist genommen' [in his book, *Speculum historiale*, the teacher Vincent of Beauvais writes much about this, and the greater part of this narrative is taken from that work].[105] But this misrepresents the content of the *Speculum historiale* and the use of it in this section, which greatly increases the anti-Islamic sentiment of the *Speculum historiale*, as well as adding extra false details to Vincent's life of Muhammad.[106] In this instance, Breydenbach uses Vincent's credibility to endorse his own version of events and his purpose behind writing.

One of the other sources in this section on the 'Sarracenen' is a semi-identified doctor who has converted from Judaism to Christianity, 'deß nammen vmb reuerentz willen ich hye verswygen' [whose name I will omit here, out of reverence].[107] The doctor aims to demonstrate that there are three

[102] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 476–84.
[103] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 480–82.
[104] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 482–84.
[105] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 292.
[106] Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*, 90.
[107] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 382. As a book written by this doctor is later

differences between the 'Saracens' and other non-Christian sects, meaning that the former are preferable.[108] These differences are as follows: that 'Saracens' do not practise idolatry,[109] that previous 'heathens' forced Christians to worship false gods, but that the 'Saracens' will allow Christian worship in exchange for bribes,[110] and that, unlike other 'heathens', the 'Saracens' have a certain respect for Jesus.[111] This does not fit in with Breydenbach's characterisation of the 'Saracens' as 'gottes vnd der kirchen vnd deß crutzes cristi aller schedelichste vyndt' [the most harmful enemies of God and the Church and the cross of Christ]. In fact, the concern is raised that the doctor gives 'die verflůcht vnd schendtlich sect der sarracenen' [the accursed and shameful Saracen sect] too much credit, and that this will reduce Christian resistance to it.[112] The doctor is therefore treated quite differently from Vincent of Beauvais. Rather than his work being edited and incorporated without clear parameters, in order to lend credibility to the whole, we see a critical engagement with it:

> vß liebe der warheyt vnd zů bewegen cristenliche hertzen wider die schnoden sarracenen vnsers blůts vnd nammens vyndt, wil ich nach dem kurtzsten so ich vermag bewysen, daz die sarracenen yn den dryen vnderscheyden ob erzelet nit besser, sunder erger oder zum mynsten glich arg syen andern secten[113]
>
> [For love of the truth, and to move Christian hearts against the wicked Saracens, enemies of our blood and name, I would like to prove briefly that, according to the three differences listed above, the Saracens are not better, but worse, or at least just as bad as other sects]

This response is a clear example of the wider tendency throughout *Peregrinatio* to set a negative other and a positive familiar in opposition, of 'defining Islam and the Orient [as] … simply a way to indirectly define the self'.[114] It is not simply about the perceived failings of Islam, but about the perceived failings of Islam with reference to Christianity, and the desire to create a negative reaction. Truth is set against wickedness; multiple Christian hearts against a 'Saracen' singular enemy; and the position of the 'Saracens' in the hierarchy of otherness is clarified.

---

identified by name (*Scrutinium scripturarum*), he is readily identifiable as Paul of Burgos: Timm, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht*, 93; Gabriella Bartolini and Giulio Caporali, eds, trans, *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinationes. Un viaggiatore del Quattrocento a Gerusalemme e in Egitto* (Rome, 1999), 139, n. 747; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 400.

108 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 382–94.

109 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 382.

110 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 386–88.

111 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 392.

112 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 396.

113 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 396.

114 Conklin Akbari, *Idols in the East*, 280.

The first task is to repudiate the suggestion that 'Saracens' do not practise idolatry, and that this has meant that God has allowed their faith to survive longer than others.[115] While the doctor asserts that the 'Saracens' practise 'vngleubikeyt on abgottery' [unbelief without idolatry], the response is that 'die vngleubikeyt der sarracenen ist glich der abtgottery der heyden' [Saracen unbelief is the same as heathen idolatry].[116] The rebuttal then features a common tactic: the creation of an association between Judaism and Islam, in this case through an assertion that contemporary Jewish belief in the law of the Old Testament is equivalent to idolatry.[117] Adherence to 'das schnod gesatz Machometi' [the wicked law of Muhammad] must, therefore, be even worse because, in contrast to the law of the Old Testament, 'das machometisch gesatz nye von gott ist geben worden, ist auch zů keyner zit nye gůt gewesen' [the law of Muhammad was never given by God, and has thus never been good].[118] In this context, Jewish belief and practice cannot be entirely detached from divine inspiration, but the same is not true of Islam. The religious other cannot be more other than if its law is portrayed as coming not from God, but as being, in fact, 'tuffelsch' [devilish],[119] an idea consistent with recurring medieval 'representations of Muslims as a monstrous cultural other'.[120] The manufactured association between Islam and Judaism is extended in order to explain the long-term success of the Muslim faith, a question that persistently troubled medieval Christians, as it challenged the notion that God guided history, punishing wrongdoers in real time.[121] This is solved here by asserting that God has only ever punished idolatry amongst the Jews, but not amongst other non-Christians,[122] and then by adding that 'die juden haben cristus ertodt, das die aller grost sund ist, vnd noch dan weret yr sect' [the Jews killed Christ, which is the greatest sin of all, yet their sect still exists].[123] We see a familiar antisemitic trope invoked, in order to imply that Muslims are so far outside religious norms that God will not even acknowledge them enough to punish them.

Later on, dismissing the doctor's argument that the 'Saracens', to an extent, honour Christ, provides another opportunity to hold up the Latin Church as

[115] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 386.

[116] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 386, 396.

[117] 'Ist die sund der juden als sie nun … halten das alt gesatz, glich vnd besunder glicher pyn der sund der abgottery' [The sin of the Jews is that they continue to observe the old law, which is the same as, and attracts the same punishment as, idolatry]: Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 398.

[118] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 398.

[119] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 400.

[120] Cohen, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands', 89.

[121] John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002), xiv.

[122] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 400.

[123] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 404.

an ideal, and to denigrate Islam by comparison. This claim is contradicted with the assertion that 'die sarraceni … von syner [Christ's] gesponsen der kyrchen also vil land vnd luth entwern vnd yn vnd alle syne sacrament vnd alles, das zů synem dienst gehőret, also versmehen vnd vndertretten' [the Saracens … rob much land and many people from Christ's spouse, the Church, and scorn and trample upon him and all his sacraments, and everything associated with his service].[124] This statement corresponds to the understanding of non-Catholic religious groups being consciously and deliberately other, which is present throughout *Peregrinatio*. The implication is that Muslims also understand the Church as the Bride of Christ, and have nonetheless purposely set out to despoil it. This is part of the logic behind the broader hostility expressed in *Peregrinatio*. Breydenbach does not primarily understand the leaders or, to a lesser extent, the members of other religions or denominations as being convinced of the truth of their beliefs, but as knowingly choosing the wrong path. His primary position on other religions is an assumption of knowledge, and therefore of culpability. This type of assumption of conscious culpability is in evidence throughout the response to this argument. As the doctor's statement that, while the 'Saracens' do not believe in Christ's divinity, 'sie doch ynen ein aller heyligsten menschen vber all ander menschen vor machomet syn gewesen' [nonetheless, they revere him as one of the holiest people, above all other humans who came before Muhammad], cannot simply be contradicted, the solution is to draw upon the parable of the Last Judgement (Matthew 25:31–46): Christ 'spricht ym euangelio, das yr eynem von den mynsten der mynen haben gethan, haben mir gethan' [says in the Gospel, what you have done to the least of my people, you have done to me].[125] The implication is that by dishonouring Christians, Muslims are dishonouring Christ. This again implies a wilful decision to be other – an expectation that Christians self-evidently represent Christ, even in non-Christian understanding. Even the use of this material represents an exclusion of Muslims: an argument is formed against them using material that they explicitly reject. Arguing from a scriptural position also emphasises that the otherness of the Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land is particularly created through their relationship to Christianity.

Breydenbach's stated aim throughout *Peregrinatio* is to provide the truth, but his real purpose, particularly in the so-called 'beschribung' [description] of the customs of the inhabitants of the Holy Land,[126] is to construct a hostile religious other, before providing his audience with tools to combat it. The inclusion of the section on the 'Saracens' plays a crucial role here, which is particularly clear in the final, climactic section, which concludes 'da mit sy

[124] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 406.
[125] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 406.
[126] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 6.

gnung gesaget von den sarracenen' [thus enough is said of the Saracens].[127] This passage constantly reiterates arguments already made, along with specific negative articles of vocabulary, and is a systematic indictment of the people as a whole. But the Muslims in the Holy Land form only one part of the other that Breydenbach aims to construct. Given the space devoted to arguing against the doctor, essentially undermining the extensive quotations from his work, we might ask why this testimony is included at all. One purpose is to emphasise that, in what is presented as the normative Christian view, there is no defence for Islam. Potentially positive aspects are mentioned with the sole purpose of explaining that actually to interpret them positively is a grave error. But we must also reckon with the section as a larger example of the systematic linking of Judaism and Islam, given that the doctor is introduced as 'eyn hochgelerter doctor vß der judenscheyt zů cristenlichem glauben bekeret' [a highly educated doctor, who has converted from Judaism to Christianity].[128] The dismissal of the doctor's arguments may be intended to denigrate Judaism as much as Islam – despite the protestation that 'vnuerletzt doch da mit syn erwirdikeyt yn andern' [though his authority in other matters remains unimpinged].[129] The rebuttal of the doctor – as in many other medieval works – deliberately associates the Islamic and Jewish others by discussing them in tandem, and creating patterns of connection.[130] Judaism is mentioned in each response, giving the impression that the doctor, given his own origins in the religious other, is not to be trusted on the subject.

Judaism indeed follows Islam in Breydenbach's hierarchy of otherness. It is discussed immediately after the extended section on the 'Saracens', and is also based on Guglingen. While Muslims constituted a novelty, albeit a negative one, Jews represented a different kind of religious other to Breydenbach's audience. Other, certainly, but an almost accessible, everyday other: 'the enemy-at-home in the heartlands of Europe'.[131] They would have been unlikely to encounter Muslims – or other Christian denominations – themselves, but Jews held a position in the popular imagination, and even in German society. Breydenbach's audience may have felt – however inaccurately – that they already knew all that they needed about Judaism. Breydenbach, of course, was compiling his *Peregrinatio* at a time of rampant European antisemitism,[132] and he did not have to concern himself with winning around his audience.

[127] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 408.

[128] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 382.

[129] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 406.

[130] David Nirenberg, 'Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain', *Common Knowledge*, 9/1 (2003), 143–45. Nirenberg outlines arguments made by Vincent Ferrer, (1350–1419) in which Jews and Muslims are linked, and Christians are warned to segregate themselves from both groups.

[131] Heng, *The Invention of Race*, 112–13.

[132] Bell explores the external judicial and extra-judicial pressures on Jewish communities

In contrast to the tactic of association used when targeting Islam, Muslims are rarely mentioned when the main target is the Jews, and while Jews are described as causing 'merkliche schaden cristenlicher gemeynen' [noteworthy damage to Christian communities] they are not set up in the same polarised opposition to the Latin Church.[133] They are still portrayed as a hostile other, but not as a serious threat to either the geopolitical or spiritual integrity of the Roman Church. They are, however, portrayed as consciously external, and the idea is reiterated that members of other religions are deliberately choosing the wrong path. The Jewish residents of Jerusalem are described as:

> all yn yren vnglauben vnd verstopffung verhertiglichen beharrende vnd tragende das thůch moysi vestiglichen vber yrem angesicht vff das, daz sie das liecht der warheyt nit ansehen, da mit sie nit bekeret werden als die, die sich selber vnwirdig vrteyletten deß ewigen lebens[134]
>
> [being obdurate and persistent in all their unbelief and stubbornness and wearing the veil of Moses firmly over their faces so that they do not see the light of truth, so that they will not be converted, and thus they have judged themselves unworthy of eternal life]

This is a particularly clear instance of the view of other religious groups as being deliberately other, for it characterises the Jews as taking action to avoid seeing the light, and elucidates the supposed consequences in common medieval antisemitic terms: 'sittemal sie den segen gottes nit wolten haben, ist er ynen gantz erfrembdet, wan sie gott vnd der welt verhasset syn' [since they do not want to have God's blessing, he is utterly estranged from them, for they are hated by God and the world], and therefore 'die sarraceni vnd barbari veruolgen vnd versmehen sie fur all ander nacionen' [the Saracens and barbarians persecute and despise them more than they do all other nations].[135] This continued to be a fairly standard traveller's response to foreign encounters with Jews – Hans Dernschwam, travelling around seventy years later wrote that the Jews 'seindt in Turkey gleich also veracht als anderswo' [are as despised in Turkey as elsewhere].[136] While it is a recurrent technique in *Peregrinatio* to stress a sect's otherness by emphasising their distance from God, there is no recognition of any inconsistency between the characterisation of 'Saracen' persecution of Christians as reflecting badly on 'Saracens', but of 'Saracen' persecution of Jews as reflecting badly on Jews. Indeed, here the 'Saracens' (and 'barbarians') are portrayed as enacting God's wrath on the Jews. As ever,

in late-medieval Germany: Bell, 'Marginalization', 72–93.

133 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 414.

134 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 410.

135 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 410.

136 Franz Babinger, ed., *Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte, 7 (Munich and Leipzig, 1923), 107.

Latin Christianity is portrayed as humanity's inherent default and, in this case, Muslims are acting in conformity with it. This indirectly underlines their other actions as a deliberate turning away from righteousness.

While the earlier section appears to be aiming to educate, inform, and persuade the audience of the dangers of the Muslim faith and its adherents in the Holy Land, there is a sense of preaching to the converted in the discussion of Judaism. Breydenbach's audience would already have understood Jews as the other in their midst, hence the reference to the 'stetten vnd landen, dar yn sie mit zů vil grosser zall verhengt werden wonen' [cities and lands in which they have to live in too great a number].[137] The rationale for their inclusion here is simply completeness: 'Sittemal aber anderer nacionen yrtummen hie werden erzelet, wil ich auch nach dem aller kurtzsten der juden yrrung eynwenig etwerffen' [but since the errors of other nations are discussed here, I would also like, very briefly, to outline something of the errors of the Jews].[138] This section therefore simply reproduces accepted knowledge, rather than seeking primarily to give out new information, and repeats the 'groß yrtum' [great errors] with which the audience would be familiar, such as the blood curse (Matthew 27:24–25), Jewish unbelief in the Trinity and Jewish practice of magic and other forbidden arts.[139] There is no argumentation – any persuasive power lies in the weight of short, accusatory clauses piling up, one after the other, culminating in the final statement that the Jews 'syn sust mit vil andern ketzeryen vnd yrtummen verstricket vnd verknupffet, als eyn yeder wol mercken mag, der yren thalmuth durch lyset dar yn vil thorechter fabeln steen geschrieben, die sie all vestiglichen glauben' [are enmeshed and associated with many other heresies and errors, as anyone who reads their Talmud, which contains many foolish fables, all of which they firmly believe, can observe].[140] Rather than anticipating familiarity with the Talmud, this sentence probably indicates an awareness of its existence and denunciation of it: because attacks on the Talmud enabled an understanding of Jews as a biblical people to be superseded by a contemporary and maliciously distorted picture, they were recurrent in medieval anti-Jewish writing.[141] These attacks followed in the tradition of Peter Alfonsi's *Dialogi contra Iudaeos*. In attacking Judaism, Alfonsi primarily condemns the rabbinic tradition and the Talmud,[142] since to condemn the Old Testament would also

[137] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 414.

[138] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 410.

[139] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 410, 412.

[140] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 412.

[141] 'die alte Sicht der Juden als biblisches Volk von einer aktualisierten, wenn auch bösartig verzerrten Perzeption abgelöst wurde': Michael Toch, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich* (Munich, 1998), 127.

[142] J.-P. Migne, ed., 'Petri Alphonsi ex judeo christiani. Dialogi', in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1854), CLVII, 535–672.

equate to an attack on Christianity. Alfonsi, a Jewish convert to Christianity, is cited at length during the discussion of Islam included in *Peregrinatio*,[143] but is not mentioned during the discussion of Judaism, despite the fact that only one chapter of the *Dialogi* concerns Islam, whereas the preceding four constitute an attack on Judaism. The criticism of Judaism that appears in *Peregrinatio* is dependent on an expectation of familiarity with current traditions of anti-Jewish argument, but is hesitant to invoke by name the authority of anyone personally connected with Judaism, even if that connection is in their past.

This expectation of familiarity is both written and illustrated. Whereas the account of the 'Saracens' is concluded with an image – a fairly neutral illustration of local clothing, and a representation of the alphabet – an image introduces the account of Judaism.[144] This image is far from neutral, for it depicts a Jewish moneylender pointing angrily at a would-be borrower, and thus plays into traditional European imagery of Jews as usurers (see Plate 1).[145] Breydenbach is fulfilling audience expectations by presenting them with an entirely familiar image of Jews, which functions as a reassurance to the audience's prejudices: Jews are represented as being the same in Jerusalem and in Germany. There is no indication that, at this time, individual Jewish communities were 'complex enough that it is difficult to speak of a homogenous Jewish culture'.[146] The image passes without initial comment, but the concept recurs later. The motif of the Jewish usurer is thus used to frame the section, the second half of which is devoted to criticism of 'jůdeschen wůchers' [Jewish usurers].[147] Again, Breydenbach uses space to emphasise his point. Usury is presented as a key aspect of the supposed harm done by Jews and is described as 'vngestrafft … by den cristen' [unpunished by Christians].[148] This, in common with the discussion of Judaism as a whole, completely ignores the existence of the violent antisemitic persecutions that persisted throughout the later Middle Ages, and through which Jews were both ill-treated as a whole by the authorities, and extra-judicially persecuted on an individual level.[149] That reality is reversed here, in favour of phrases like 'den schnoden hellhunden' [the wicked hounds of hell] and their 'hellkůchlyn' [hell kitchens], portraying 'vns armen menschen' [us poor people] as the victims of 'yren behenden listen' [their devious cunning].[150] Humanity is denied to Jews, and presented as the preserve of Christians, who are portrayed as the victims of demonic

[143] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 314–34.

[144] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, figs 10, 11.

[145] 'Dar zů von allem wůcher so sy von andern menschen yn nemmen, machen sy ynen keyn conscientz': Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 412.

[146] Bell, 'Marginalization', 73.

[147] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 414.

[148] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 414.

[149] Bell, 'Marginalization', 72.

[150] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 414.

De Judeis quorum etiam plerique hijsce temporibus Jerosolimis manent.

Sunt preterea Jerosolimis hijs temporibus habitantes judei vtriusque sexus circiter quingenti in sua perfidia et obstinatione pertinaciter perseuerantes. velamen moysi habentes fixe super facies suas ne lumen inspiciant veritatis. neque conuertantur et sanentur. vtpote qui indignos se iudicantes vite eterne. verbum respuerunt salutis. viarumque domini noluerunt scientiam habere. atque ipsum vite interemerunt auctorem. impie ad pylatum conclamantes. Sanguis eius super nos et filios nostros Et quia noluerunt benedictionem. elongabitur ab eis procul. Nam et deo et hominibus odibiles facti sunt. sed et sarraceni et barbari eos pre ceteris nationibus persequuntur. habentque exosos. Et cum ceterarum hic re-

Plate 1. ‘They have no guilty conscience about all the usury they practice on other people’ (Woodcut by Erhward Reuwich, The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, Arch. B c.25, (1486), fol. 76v)

monsters – precisely the same techniques used to dehumanise and other the Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land. The difference in approach is primarily a question of anticipated received knowledge. While Jews are repeatedly invoked to strengthen the case against Muslims, Muslims are not invoked to strengthen the case against Jews. Whereas the earlier section supposdely provided new information about Muslims to an audience broadly unfamiliar with Islam, the aim here is to confirm audience expectations, and to assure the audience that all that they think they know about Jews in German lands is equally true of Jews in the Holy Land. The diversity of medieval Jewish culture is not even hinted at; instead all Jewish people are subsumed into the monolithic, othered 'virtual Jew', utterly divorced from any reality. Despite different tactics, though, the outcome is the same: once a group has been constructed as other, their existence is depicted as a threat to Latin Christian identity.

Non-Latin forms of Christianity, being located at the bottom of the hierarchy of otherness, are treated slightly differently, and their diversity is acknowledged. This, however, is not a positive acknowledgement, and the audience is left in no doubt that this last, perhaps least familiar, category also belongs ultimately to the threatening other. Because non-Latin Christians neither represented a military threat to Christendom, nor were to be found in late-medieval Germany, this perceived threat needs to be constructed differently, although it is still set up in specific opposition to the Latin Church. This opposition is made possible by noting the presence of a small number of Latin Christians in the Holy Land alongside the Greeks, Syrians, Jacobites, Maronites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, and Abyssinians. This small group, by existing in proximity to non-Latin Christians, is presented as surrounded – and thus threatened – by the other: 'die selben alleyn syn recht cristen' [these same [Latins] are the only true Christians], who are 'den verkerten nacionen luchtende als die liechter yn der welt, der rômschen kyrchen vnderthenig' [as the light of the world, subject to the Roman Church, enlightening the nations who have gone astray].[151] The failure of the non-Latin denominations to belong to the Church of Rome is therefore portrayed as the source of their other failings: we again see an essential opposition between righteousness, in the form of the Latin Church, and a wicked other, in the form of another religious tradition:

> Von dem leben sytten vnd yrtummen der selben nacionen wil ich fur hyn eyn wenig mee schriben zů trost vnd ergetzung der vnsern, zů schand aber der selben hoffertigen vnd verstopfften menschen, mit welchen wir doch also sollen eyn mitlyden haben vmb wegen yr yrrung, daz wir nitt mynner mit vns selbs eyn freüd haben vmb wegen vnsers rechten glaubens.[152]

[151] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 418.
[152] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 420.

> [I will write a little more here about the customs and errors of these same nations, for our own comfort and delight, but to the shame of these proud and stubborn people, for whom we should nonetheless have some compassion because of their errors. Equally, we should have no less joy in ourselves on account of our own correct belief.]

This approach has particularly clear implications for identity construction. At this point, non-Latin Christians appear to occupy a slightly different space of otherness from the groups discussed so far, as the negative language of pride and stubbornness is tempered by a brief reference to compassion. The audience are included in the category of pious and orthodox Catholics, according to the definition of correct religious beliefs and practices espoused in *Peregrinatio* as a whole. Breydenbach and his audience are 'wir', who, while having compassion ('mitleyden') for the other (the 'hoffertigen vnd verstopfften menschen'), can also find joy by comparing the errors of the other to 'vnsers rechten glaubens' – which rather mitigates the compassion expressed. Correct beliefs are glorified by being compared to errors. The (Christian) religious insider is ultimately glorified by comparison with the (Christian) religious other.

As the Christian religious other was represented in the West by the heretic, non-Latin Christian groups are frequently contextualised with reference to ancient and contemporary heresies. This tendency to employ the discourse of heresy in discussion of the religious other, while not limited to non-Latin Christians in the Holy Land, is evident from the beginning of the description of these denominations: 'mancherleyen nacionen menschen, welche sich all mit mund veriehen cristen syn aber mit wercken leuckelen, wan sie mit mancherley ketzerey vnd yrtum syn beflecket' [people of many nations, who all claim with their lips to be Christians, but deny it through their works, because they are stained with many kinds of heresy and error].[153] But ultimately, this section goes further than simply identifying non-Latin Christians as heretics. Whereas Felix Fabri distinguishes between groups of 'Christianorum catholicorum et schismaticorum' [Catholic Christians and schismatic Christians],[154] here we see a harder line, ultimately asserting that these 'schismatic Christians' are not Christians at all. The line between 'us' and 'them' is hardened, making

[153] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 418. Breydenbach's references to the 'ketzery' of Muslims and Jews are fairly infrequent – for example, he describes Muhammad as 'ketzer' when explaining his use of sections of the Old and New Testament in the composition of the Qur'ān, and describes the Talmud, which makes (negative) reference to Jesus, as being illustrative of the Jews' 'ketzerey'. Allegations of heresy therefore seem to be linked to supposedly improper interpretation of Christian doctrine. Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 302, 412.

[154] Konrad Dietrich Hassler, ed., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 3 (Stuttgart, 1843), II, 200.

the non-Latin Christians of the Holy Land indisputably other, rather than a misguided kind of familiar. The description of the Greeks, again based on Guglingen, is particularly extensive and provides a useful microcosm in which to view the treatment of non-Latin Christianity. The later medieval Church was increasingly inclined to denigrate closely related religious traditions most starkly,[155] and this is borne out by the treatment of the Greek Church included in *Peregrinatio*. Because there are multiple similarities in the practices of Greek Christians and Latin Christians, differences in practices are specified and highlighted, and Greek practices maligned by the comparison. This criticism can be divided into Latin disapproval of Greek practices, and Greek disapproval of the Latin Church.

In the first category, we see a comprehensive attack covering authority figures (here, Greek priests) and approaches to the sacraments. Greek priests, we read, 'nemmen hußfrauwen nit alleyn eyne, sunder zwů, dry, vier nach eyn ander, daz ynen doch nit zů gelassen ist yn der gestalt' [take wives, and not just one, but two, three, four, one after the other, which is not allowed in that fashion].[156] This statement begins with an assertion intended to shock the audience, before noting that this practice is not even allowed by the Greeks. Two blows are thus struck against the moral integrity of the men in question, alongside the implication that the Greek Church is unable to control the behaviour of its priests. There is then an attempt to make these priests seem ridiculous: 'Sye zyehen yr berth mit grossem vlyß vnd welche nit berth haben, halten sye fur vnwirdig priester zů werden' [they tend their beards with great care, and those without beards are held unworthy to be priests].[157] This all comes across as an attempt to discredit the Greek priesthood. The audience is presented with the image of a group of men who marry repeatedly and view the cultivation of a suitable beard as the main qualification for the priesthood. But the main object for condemnation is Eucharistic practice, although Greek practices around baptism and confirmation are also disparaged. The Eucharist was central to late-medieval piety, and so a portrayal of improper Eucharistic practice is calculated to raise the spectre of particularly shocking heresy; similarly, while John Wyclif and Jan Hus were criticised for many reasons, both inspired particular outrage where their positions on the Eucharist were concerned.[158] Greek use of leavened bread and wine unmingled with water is portrayed as the rejection of divinely inspired practices that have been consistent throughout salvation history, were specifically employed by Christ

[155] Phillips, *Before Orientalism*, 2.

[156] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 420–22.

[157] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 422.

[158] Thomas A. Fudge, *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure* (2013), 145; Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991, repr. 1992), 326–27.

at the Last Supper, and continue to be endorsed by the Church.[159] In this treatment of Greek Eucharistic practice, therefore, we see an emphasis on both a political and a practical gulf between the Greek and Roman Churches, and a supernatural gulf between the Greek Church and God. Throughout the attacks on Greek religious tradition, the targets are carefully chosen. First there is an attempt to destroy the credibility of the Greek priests. Then, by mentioning the administration of baptism and confirmation by these 'slecht prister' [uneducated priests],[160] the Greek sacraments of initiation are attacked. Finally, there is a lengthy criticism of the practices surrounding each element in the central Christian sacrament – the Eucharist – with reference to Christ himself. Ultimately this reads as an attempt to destroy the Christian credibility of every aspect of Greek religious practice in the minds of the audience.

This, however, simply represents the Greeks as objectionable, rather than as a threat to Latin Christianity. This is where Greek disapproval of Latin practices is deployed, and it is integral to the depiction of the Greeks as other by choice. We are told that the Greeks 'halten auch, daz der babst vnd wir all latinischen ym band syen, darvmb sie all sentenz vnd band so von vns wider sie gescheen verachten' [believe that the Pope and all of us Latins are excommunicated, and so they disdain the sentence of excommunication that we have passed on them].[161] This is a dual outrage: the Greeks have not just pronounced their own excommunication of the Latin Church, but they are also contemptuous of the Latin Church's excommunication of their denomination. This is presented as having various consequences, most significantly (again) involving the Eucharist:

> so wir latinischen zů jherusulem meß halten, ja wan eyner von vnsern priestern ob yrem altar eynen meß lyset, so weschen sie den selben altar als bald, als ob er dar durch unreyn wer worden, yn welchem sie wol bewysen, ob sie eß nit sprechen mit worten, daz sie glauben, daz wir yn vngeheffeltem brodt nicht recht wyhen oder consecriren[162]
>
> [when we Latins have Mass in Jerusalem, indeed when one of our priests says Mass on their altar, they immediately wash that altar, as though it had become impure through our Mass, through which they prove without saying anything that they believe that we are wrong to consecrate unleavened bread]

This is the ultimate expression of Greek separation. The image of priests, whose reputation has already been demolished, washing the altar after the Latin celebration of Mass is calculated to enrage the audience. The final statement then adds to their presumed fury, by suggesting that a group which

[159] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 422.
[160] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 422.
[161] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 420.
[162] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 422–26.

has been portrayed as separated from God dares to voice an opinion on something so sacred. This passage also alludes to the fact that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was never an exclusively Catholic space, but has always been shared between multiple denominations – which is not made clear in Breydenbach's description of the visit to the church itself. There, the Greeks are textually excluded from a place in which they are physically present.[163] Here, removed from the description of the church as one of the holy places, reference can be made to denominationally shared spaces – but its primary effect is to further the othering process. The Greeks are not depicted as another nation of Christians, for whom the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is a sacred space for the praise of God, as in Wey's *Itineraries*, but as a hostile presence attacking Latin belief and practice.

At the heart of the depiction of the Greeks as deliberately other is pride. We are told that 'yr hertz vmb wegen yr hoffart ist verblendet vnd verstopffet, vnd so sie sich wyß beduncken syn sie thoren' [their heart is blind and stubborn because of their pride, and insofar as they think they are wise, they are fools].[164] This is placed in opposition to the apparent response of the Abyssinian Christians who, when they are told that there are errors in their baptismal practice, 'verhiessen vns sie wolten fur hyn sollichs myden' [promised us that they would avoid them in future].[165] There is, therefore, a path away from otherness for the Christian other not offered to the Jewish or Islamic other (despite the inclusion of writings by Jewish converts to Christianity) – a path that demands the acceptance of western, Latin authority over eastern practice and custom.[166] Breydenbach gives himself divine authority when he includes the asssertion that God desires that 'die verstopfften kriechen vnd ander nacionen ynn orient wonende … wyder vmb kemen vnder gehorsame der heiligen rômschen kirchen' [the stubborn Greeks and other nations living in the Orient return to membership of the holy Roman Church].[167] As long as other Christian sects identify themselves as individual denominations, they are other. They cannot be outside the Latin Church, and be approved. If, however, they are willing to subsume their identity into the religious identity espoused by Breydenbach, in which his audience is included, there is a place for them that is not available to the non-Christian religious other. Despite dismissing their claims to Christianity, therefore, *Peregrinatio* in this way treats non-Latin Christians differently from other manifestations of the religious other. But if they choose to remain outside the Roman Church, then, to Breydenbach and his audience, they are not truly Christians: they simply

[163] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 132–44.

[164] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 426.

[165] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 448.

[166] See Edward Said's definition of orientalism as 'a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient': Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

[167] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 484.

'auch wollen cristen syn' [also claim to be Christians].[168] Conversion, not simply reform, is thus necessary. Despite employing the discourse of heresy, then, Breydenbach ultimately situates these denominations outside Christianity, both textually and philosophically. Their power as heretics – disrupters of unity from within – is thus neutralised.

But what is the overall goal of this comprehensive othering? Breydenbach initially claims that he is writing 'do mit aber, daz ich ioch in sollichem kleynem werck andern cristgleubigen menschen mochte dyenen' [so that, through this little work, I might be of service to other Christian people].[169] This service takes a specific form, and the extensive ethnographic section is part of it – but it does not stand on its own. It exists in order to promote a unified Christian identity by setting it in opposition to a hostile other, and the descriptions of other religious groups are therefore as much about defining Breydenbach's audience as they are about defining otherness. But constructing and denigrating that other is only part of this overall task. The negative energy generated *against* the religious other must be focused into a positive action *for* the religious insider, a specific task, as opposed to a nebulous feeling, and before returning to his pilgrimage Breydenbach builds up to a call for action, specifically for a crusade. He begins with an:

> ernstlicher vermanung der cristenlichen fursten nach erzelung gemeyner vbel, da mit die kyrch ist vnd wurdt zůsehelichen von tag zů tag besweret vff, daz sy grőssern flyß ankeren der kyrchen hilff vnd by stande zů thůn, vnd sye zů beschyrmen nach yrem vermőgen ampt vnd statt[170]
>
> [earnest exhortation to the Christian princes, along with a description of the general evil with which the Church is increasingly faced every day, that they endeavour to offer the Church help and assistance, and that they protect the Church according to their ability, position, and station]

This brief outline encapsulates both the technique and the need for creating and reinforcing western Christian identity. Breydenbach's audience is invoked and rebuked: the Christian princes are currently not offering sufficient support to the beleaguered Church. The pieces are in place from the start of the book, but it is not until he reaches the discrete section dedicated to the religious other that Breydenbach begins his work in earnest, and here, at its end, he outlines the purpose of all that preceded.

The ethnographic sections suggest both philosophical and physical, existential threats to Latin Christianity. The emphasis in this closing section is firmly physical, focusing on the Ottoman military threat to Europe. Breydenbach was, after all, writing only three decades after the Fall of

[168] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 444.
[169] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 6.
[170] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 24.

Constantinople, during a period of Ottoman expansion, and fear of further encroachment was commonplace. The noblemen in the audience are thus encouraged to take up their weapons: 'wie fry vnd sicher syn die ritter cristi, die wyder die vngleubigen stryten' [how free and certain are the knights of Christ, who fight against the unbelievers].[171] He approaches this incitement carefully and slowly, highlighting an essential danger and opposition over many pages. Setting the scene by means of the three laments (over the Holy Land, over the Church in the East, and over the Church in the West), he decries the destruction of churches in Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. He bemoans the peril of the 'můter vnd frauw aller volcker (das ist die kyrch)' [mother and wife of all peoples (that is, the Church)] at the hands of 'gottes lesterer vnd deß crutz cristi veruolger vnd verhasser deß alleyn waren glaubes (die turcken rede ich)' [defamers of God and persecutors of the cross of Christ, and those who hate all true belief (I am talking about the Turks)].[172] The West (the Church) and East (the Church's enemies) are defined in religious and geographical opposition to one another. Breydenbach rhetorically compounds the situation by asking a series of questions about contemporary Ottoman conquests, each beginning 'Wer hatt' [who has] and concluding 'Der turck' [the Turk], emphasising the monolithic threat presented by the other through the use of the singular, that common technique that we also find in Wey's *Itineraries*.[173] He then turns to his audience, addressing first Pope Innocent VIII, then the future Maximilian I, son of the Holy Roman Emperor, and finally 'all yr hochgebornen cristenlich fursten' [all you highborn Christian princes], appealing to their duty to protect the Church.[174] The lines are thus explicitly drawn between the members of the Church and the Ottoman Empire.

At this point, Breydenbach alludes (relatively briefly) to the Church's internal problems.[175] It is in a context of immorality amongst the clergy and disunity amongst the Christian nobility that Breydenbach's attempts to incite a crusade can be read as an attempt to promote Christian unity – but a chosen unity, made up of many different people. Crusade is used as a means to promote reform within the Church. Breydenbach's call is explicitly aimed at every individual Christian, in opposition to a monolithic foe: 'welcher cristen

[171] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 502.

[172] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 478, 486.

[173] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 486–88; Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 62r–63v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 99–101.

[174] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 488–94. Innocent VIII summoned an ultimately fruitless congress to discuss a Crusade in March 1490: Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History*, 3rd edn (London and New York, 2014), 313.

[175] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 494–502. The majority of criticism of the clergy, though, is reserved for the Latin *Peregrinatio* – Breydenbach's focus here is really the laity and their need for improvement.

mensch wolt nitt dar zů helffenn mitt lyp oder gůt, daz sollich vnser schedlich vnd todtlich vynd .. mochten vertrieben, ertodt oder verdilcket werden' [what Christian would not want to assist, with their life or their possessions, in the driving out, killing, or destruction of our dangerous and deadly enemy].[176] He might have expected to find a ready audience in Germany, which was particularly concerned with the Ottoman Empire, but the use of 'established patterns of crusading rhetoric' in response to Ottoman expansion was seen across Europe.[177] Indeed, Breydenbach is following in the footsteps of Pope Pius II, who at the Council of Mantua in 1459 had attempted to incite a crusade against the Ottoman rulers of Constantinople.[178] Pius was also acting against a backdrop of in-fighting Christian nobles: in 1459 England was in the early stages of the Wars of the Roses, while in Germany the Prussian cities, allied with Poland, were engaged in fighting against the Teutonic Knights in the Thirteen Years' War (1454–66).[179]

The Holy Land, though, was then part of the Mamluk Sultanate and not the Ottoman Empire, and Breydenbach generally refers explicitly to 'Saracens', and not to 'Turks', when he wishes to criticise Islam. His abrupt switch from cataloguing Turkish atrocities to outlining Christian history (both legendary and reasonably factual) in the Holy Land, beginning in the ninth century and culminating in a call for a general crusade, is part of the drive throughout *Peregrinatio* to identify different groups as part of a unified whole.[180] Just as a crusade provides an opportunity to unite the squabbling knights of western Christendom, so Ottoman aggression provides an opportunity to unite the Islamic religious other in western minds. To this end, Breydenbach provides an appendix – again, separated from the accounts of his pilgrimages – detailing the Ottoman assaults on Constantinople, Negroponte, Rhodes, and Otranto. The purpose of this appendix is to cast hatred of Islam – for he overtly unites 'Turks' and 'Saracens' – as a religious virtue: 'der andechtigen cristgleubigen menschen hertze vnd gemůt von tag zů tag mee vnd mee wurden wyder die schweren, schedlichen vnd blůtigen vynde deß cristenlichen nammens vnd glaubens, die turcken vnd sarracenen, gereytzet, gestercket vnd angezundet' [the hearts and minds of devout Christian people are increasingly aroused, strengthened, and inflamed against the dreadful, dangerous, and bloody enemies of the Christian name and faith, the Turks and Saracens].[181] This kind of discourse was current at the end of the long fifteenth century – even Larke, with his general lack of interest in current affairs or other religions,

[176] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 510–12.

[177] Berman, *German Literature on the Middle East*, 62–63.

[178] Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 310.

[179] Karin Friedrich, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772* (2000), 23.

[180] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 506–10.

[181] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 668.

describes the 'Turks' as 'enemies of the Christian faith' – but Breydenbach, in his use of a large proportion of his pilgrimage account to stir up feeling against other religious groups, in order to incite a crusade, goes much further than any of the other three pilgrims.[182] Breydenbach may, to a degree, be moved by genuine fear of Ottoman expansion, but his construction of a religious other across *Peregrinatio* is driven by the desire to use it as a factor motivating western Christian unity, and as a distraction from, or a solution to, the problems faced by the Church at home in Europe – problems that would lead ultimately, and not long after, to the beginnings of the Reformation.

The Religious Other, or Other Religions?

William Wey, Bernhard von Breydenbach, Arnold von Harff, and Thomas Larke approach other religions in different ways, and with different motives. Breydenbach's agenda is by far the most developed. In the service of his attempt to create and draw attention to a political and salvation-historical gulf between the Roman Church and all other religious groups, he uses textual space to remove non-Latins from any kind of pilgrimage-related arena. They are made to represent an unwelcome intrusion into his devotional practice, separating his journey to Jerusalem from his journey to Sinai. Within the section allocated to the religious other, he seeks support from respected written sources of information, as well as those such as Guglingen's work, which he does not acknowledge. The overwhelmingly hostile other constructed in *Peregrinatio*, and set in opposition to supposed Latin perfection, is in fact intended to incentivise squabbling western princes to set aside their differences with one another, and come together against an external enemy. In the face of this unrest within the Latin Church, Breydenbach draws on earlier models of identity, which 'centered on a logic of sameness and operated by assuming a model of similarity',[183] seeking to cement the unified western Christian identity he sees splintering. The primary purpose of the disparagement of eastern religious groups thus has little to do with those groups themselves, and everything to do with the self-perception of Breydenbach's German audience. In the specific context of the Holy Land, it was not only after the Enlightenment that 'European culture gained in strength and identity by setting itself off against the Orient'.[184]

Wey, Harff, and Larke make observations on other religions as they are encountered during the pilgrimage journey, creating the impression of a more experiential narrative, even when they have rewritten other sources. They treat encounters with members of other religions as more or less significant

[182] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 68.

[183] Brigitte Miriam Bedos-Rezak, 'Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept', *The American Historical Review*, 105/5 (2000), 1492.

[184] Said, *Orientalism*, 3.

features of their journey, describing them as they appear. Where relevant, they, like Breydenbach, use repetition of others' words as a signifier of authenticity. Followers of other religions appear during the journey in all four accounts but, in every case (with the exception of non-Latin Christians in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre), they are absent during the visits to the holy places themselves. In this sense, all four writers suggest that they do not belong within this conceptual Christian space. They cannot be wholly removed – their effects are to be seen on formerly Christian places like St Anne's Church, which had become a Quranic law school – but their contemporary presence is consciously excluded. This functions to remove pilgrimage sites, and the pilgrimage experience as a whole, from the physical reality of fifteenth-century Jerusalem. Neither Wey, nor Harff, nor Larke, however, go as far as Breydenbach in his exclusionary use of textual space.

Largely unconcerned with broad identity creation, Harff and Larke essentially operate without a strongly defined religious other, but in wholly different ways: Harff because he is generally interested in other practices, even those of which he disapproves, and Larke because other religions are essentially outside his comprehension. Harff encounters and learns about other religions. Larke mostly avoids doing either. Wey comes closest to defining a religious other, although he does not do so consistently, nor does he define what precisely this other opposes. Othering is not generally a conscious strategy for Wey in the way that it is for Breydenbach, and its effects on both personal and collective identity construction, while present, are relatively haphazard in his *Itineraries*. Identity can be constructed without recourse to the definition of what one is not: for Harff, for example, his focus is on his dual identity as a Christian and a knight, and both of these find fulfilment through an affirmative action when he is made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre.[185] Nonetheless, othering and identity construction are related. Wey's understanding of the 'Turks' as the enemies of God, and the 'Saracens' as deliberately hostile to pilgrims, creates an implicit us–them dichotomy. Larke's identity, not as an individual, but as part of a particular pilgrim group, is largely constructed by his first-person-plural reminiscences, but when that identity encounters a geographically proximate threat he resorts to the language of othering.[186] For Breydenbach, definition of the other is a key tool in the definition of the insider; defence of the insider is best served by attacks against the other. In his calculated construction of a religious other, he aims to create an overarching Latin Christian identity, which seems only to be sustainable in (violent) opposition to what is entirely other.

[185] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 173–74.
[186] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 68.

3

Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Case of Arnold von Harff

We have now seen the efforts made by William Wey to enfold his audience into the pilgrimage experience through his writing and rewriting of his own visits to the holy places, as well as Bernhard von Breydenbach's exhortations to Christian unity at the expense of those on the outside, whom he regards as other. As we saw when examining Arnold von Harff's approach to other religions, though, he brings something else to the composition process: an expectation that his readers' interest is not simply in the pilgrimage itself, but that travel provides the opportunity to learn about the contemporary world as well as about salvation history. In his work, secular interest sits squarely alongside the pilgrimage experience, as it does not in our other texts.

Having provided the customary praise of his patrons, Harff begins his account by outlining the highlights of his pilgrimage. These were to be Rome, Sinai, Egypt, Arabia, Syria, Armenia, Kollam on the coast of Kerala in India, the source of the Nile, Cairo, Jerusalem, Cappadocia, Antioch, Constantinople, Santiago de Compostela, Mont St-Michel, St Patrick's Purgatory in Ireland, and the shrine of the Holy Blood at Wilsnack.[1] For pilgrims to boast of the scope of their pilgrimage was neither new, nor universally well received:

> Þis folke frayned hym firste · fro whennes he come
>
> Fram synay he seyde and fram owre lordes sepulcre
> In bethleem and in babiloyne I haue ben in bothe
> In ermonye in alisaundre in many other places
> ȝe may se bi my signes þat sitten on myn hatte
> Þat I haue walked ful wyde in wete and in drye
> And sou3te gode seyntes for my soules helth
>
> Knowestow ou3te a corseint þat men calle treuthe
> Coudestow au3te wissen vs þe weye where þat wy dwelleth
>
> Nay so me god helpe seide þe gome þanne

[1] E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), 2–3.

> I seygh neuere palmere with pike ne with scrippe
> Axen after hym er til now in þis place
>
> [The folk asked him first where he came from.
>
> 'From Sinai,' he said, 'And from our Lord's Sepulchre. I have been in both Bethlehem and in Babylon, in Armenia, in Alexandria, in many other places. You may see by the signs on my hat that I have walked widely, in the wet and in the dry, and sought good saints for my soul's health.'
>
> 'Do you know anything of a saint that men call Truth? Could you tell us anything of the way to where that man dwells?'
>
> 'So help me God, no,' the man said then, 'I have never seen a palmer with pike nor satchel ask after him until now, in this place.']
>
> (*Piers Plowman*, Passus 5 B-Text, 525–36, late fourteenth century)[2]

Harff's grand vision for his pilgrimage eclipses the list recited by William Langland's unnamed pilgrim. Although he admits that at least his final two pilgrimage sites – St Patrick's Purgatory and Wilsnack – eluded him, he apparently also found time to visit many other places along the way not even remotely related to the devotional nature of the exercise. Harff's descriptions of his destinations, religious and secular, are vivid and detailed. He is interested in the world around him, and in relaying that interest to his audience at home. In a word, he is curious – and curiosity and pilgrimage have long sat uneasily together.[3] Curiosity in a pilgrim suggests an ulterior motive for travel: a desire to see the world and its marvels and perhaps even to boast about one's travels. An earthly focus, at least in part, rather than a singularly devotional one. Given that Langland introduces Will the Dreamer dressed as an unholy hermit, and travelling widely in order to learn of wonders,[4] Harff seems to be exactly the kind of figure he has in mind for criticism. But does Harff see any contradiction between his curiosity and his pilgrimage? And what does it mean to be curious?

2 'Bx.5 – PPEA', *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive*, 2017 <http://piers.chass.ncsu.edu/texts/Bx/5?view=critical> [accessed 17 April 2019].

3 Christian K. Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1976), 5.

4 'In a somer seson whan soft was the sonne / I shope me in[to] shroudes as i a shepe were / In habite as an heremite vnholy of workes / Went wyde in þis world wondres to here' [In a summer season when the sun was soft, I dressed myself in the garb of a shepherd, with a habit like a hermit of unholy works and travelled widely in the world to hear wonders] (B Prologue, 1–4): 'Bx.P – PPEA', *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive*, 2017 <http://piers.chass.ncsu.edu/texts/Bx/P?view=critical> [accessed 17 April 2019].

The Problem of Curiosity

Defining 'curiosity' is, as Neil Kenny suggests, not exactly straightforward. He writes that 'people talked and wrote about curiosity for conflicting purposes, and … they could do so because there was an enduring lack of consensus about what exactly curiosity was'.[5] The complexity of the term is apparent from the sheer number of meanings ascribed to it by the Oxford English Dictionary – fifteen, most of which are obsolete. It is its fifth meaning, however, which concerns us here: the 'desire to know or learn'. The modern associations of curiosity are almost universally positive: the desire to investigate the world, and the stance of being intellectually and emotionally engaged with one's surroundings are valued highly. There is little recognition in the modern mind that the desire to know or learn can be excessive, although there is a sense that curiosity can be applied to 'matters which do not concern one'. Additionally, the OED preserves the sense of curiosity as being used both 'in a blamable sense', which it characterises as 'the disposition to inquire too minutely into anything; undue or inquisitive desire to know or learn' and 'in a neutral or good sense: The desire or inclination to know or learn about anything, *esp*. what is novel or strange; a feeling of interest leading one to inquire about anything'.[6] The former sense is now listed as obsolete but, for much of European history, curiosity was viewed as problematic to a far greater extent. For our purposes here, curiosity will be understood as the desire to know or learn about what is novel and strange. None of the terms used in the period around 1500 to express the various facets of curiosity have the comprehensive sense of a 'desire to know or learn', and yet the desire is quite evident, albeit to different degrees, for each of our four travellers. It is particularly clear in the writing of Arnold von Harff, where it potentially runs counter to contemporary views of acceptable pilgrimage practice.

The words used to describe medieval curiosity add a layer of complexity. Our four main writers do not often use the ancestors of the modern terms *curiosity* or *Neugier*. Indeed, in Arnold von Harff's or Bernhard von Breydenbach's writings no version appears of the medieval German term *niugërne*, the predecessor of modern German *Neugierde*.[7] This does not mean that the 'desire to know or learn' was not relevant to these men, but rather that there were many ways to approach it. In religious contexts, the

[5] Neil Kenny, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford, 2004), 2.

[6] Oxford University Press, 'curiosity, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019, entry last updated 1989) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46038> [accessed 18 April 2019].

[7] Trier Center for Digital Humanities, 'niu-gërne', *Wörterbuchnetz*, 2011 <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/Navigator/navigator_py?sigle=Lexer&lemid=LN01179&mode=Vernetzung&hitlist=&patternlist=&sigle1=Lexer&lemid1=LN01179&sigle2=BMZ&lemid2=BG00828> [accessed 17 April 2019].

curiosity impulse generally takes on negative connotations and, particularly in the earlier Middle Ages, *curiositas*, often a preferred term in theological discussion, is used primarily to repudiate the desire to investigate the world. The positive aspect of curiosity is harder to identify, largely because it is often kept semantically quite separate from *curiositas*. Thomas Aquinas distinguished between *curiositas*, which was intimately connected with pride, and its positive counterpart, *studiositas*.[8]

This distinction between negative *curiositas* and an opposing virtue is upheld by modern critics. Scott Lightsey sets them up in opposition to one another, writing of the 'economy of wonder, in which the experience of marvels was modified by *curiositas* instead of *admiratio*, and perceived as transactional rather than supernatural', an economy in which one can 'forgo wonder for *curiositas* or *cupiditas*'.[9] While Lightsey does not go as far as Valerie Allen and Margaret Connolly suggest when they summarise his argument as analysing a shift from 'supernatural *admiratio* to mundane *curiositas*',[10] he nonetheless represents a strict semantic hierarchy, in which *admiratio* has a monopoly on the supernatural, and worldly inquisitiveness is reserved for *curiositas*, which is the subject of 'religious disapproval'.[11] Similarly, Axel Rüth distinguishes between *mirabilia* (marvels) and *miracula* (miracles). He describes wonder experienced at marvels as *curiositas*, but wonder experienced at '*miracula* is different: it shall create *admiratio* of the saint's virtues'.[12] This approach clearly ties so-called *curiositas* to earthly things, which therefore means that it cannot further an interest in the divine. But this purely technical separation of expressions of the same desire – a desire that in modern parlance could be expressed by the single word 'curiosity' – cannot consistently be applied to medieval writing. Simply using the word *curiositas* to stand in for 'curiosity' – as Ethan Smilie does when he writes, 'during the Middle Ages, curiosity, or as it was known then – *curiositas* – was universally considered a vice' – cannot solve the problem either;[13] two of our four travellers make neutral or even positive, use of *curiositas*.

Bernhard von Breydenbach positively reinforces the desire to know and learn about what is holy, writing that this desire 'were onzwyfel eyn heylsame

8 Thomas Gilby, ed., tran., *St Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologiae, 44: Well-Tempered Passion: 2a2æ. 155-70*, Summa Theologiae (London, 1972), 192–209 (Questions 166 and 167).

9 Scott Lightsey, 'Chaucer's Secular Marvels and the Medieval Economy of Wonder', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 23 (2001), 297, 309.

10 Valerie Allen and Margaret Connolly, 'IV Middle English: Chaucer', *The Year's Work in English Studies*, 82/1 (2003), 22 of 34 (211).

11 Lightsey, 'Chaucer's Secular Marvels', 296.

12 Axel Rüth, 'Representing Wonder in Medieval Miracle Narratives', *MLN*, 126/4, French Issue Supplement (2011), 94.

13 Ethan Smilie, 'Goddes Pryvetee and a Wyf: "Curiositas" and the Triadic Sins in the Miller's and Reeve's Tales', *Christianity and Literature*, 65/1 (2015), 4.

(daz ich also rede) fůrwitzikeyt' [would, without a doubt, be holy (I shall call it thus) curiosity].[14] In Latin he writes 'Sancta perfecto esset huiuscemodi curiositas (vt ita dixerim)' [such curiosity would assuredly be holy (thus I shall call it)].[15] Breydenbach recognises a certain incongruity here and qualifies his choice of words, but the semantic boundaries of the term – and therefore the impulse itself – are again evidently more fluid than modern critics such as Lightsey and Rüth suggest. Moreover, *curiositas* cannot be understood as a fixed concept, transferrable amongst languages, since Breydenbach seeks a vernacular translation – often, but not always *fürwitz*, the predecessor of modern German 'vorwitzig' [meddlesome, cheeky, inquisitive]. He chooses the word that best represents the desire as he intends to portray it in context. This is in keeping with the usage of Geiler von Kaysersberg, preaching in 1488, who views *fürwitz* as a term in need of qualification: 'üppige fürwitz' [wanton curiosity] is problematic; 'fürwitz' alone therefore is not.[16] For Breydenbach, it is positive to display 'heylsame … fůrwitzikeyt' in the context of pilgrimage in order 'baß zuwissen die stett des lebens vnd sterbens cristi ihesu' [better to know the places of Christ Jesus's life and death].[17] He takes curiosity and, by framing it as a religious desire, uses it to defend the practice of pilgrimage.

William Wey goes even further. For him, the term needs no qualification. He writes:

> Erat quidam anglicus ad terram sanctam profecturus, ad videndum mirabilia illius terre erat curiosus; unde quendam sarazenum conduxit ut sibi mirabilia ostenderet.[18]
>
> [An Englishman went to the Holy Land, curious to see the marvels of that land, so he took with him a certain local Saracen to show him the marvels.]

The term *curiosus* is used entirely without judgement. Wey attributes this tale as follows: 'Hac lincolniensis super Convertimini' [the Lincoln author of Convertimini],[19] which is to say, Robert Grosseteste.[20] The author of

14 Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), 46.

15 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (Mainz, 1486), fol. 7r.

16 Gerhard Bauer, ed., *Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg: Sämtliche Werke* (Berlin, 1991), II, 536. It is common to translate 'fürwytz' with reference to curiosity: Trier Center for Digital Humanities, 'vir-witzecheit', *Wörterbuchnetz*, 2011 <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/Navigator/navigator_py?sigle=Lexer&lemid=LV03935&mode=Vernetzung&hitlist=&patternlist=&sigle1=Lexer&lemid1=LV03936&sigle2=BMZ&lemid2=BW02676> [accessed 17 April 2019].

17 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 46.

18 William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470), fol. 33v; Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857), 54.

19 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 34r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 54.

20 Francis Davey, tran., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010), 70, n. 30.

Convertimini, which has never been published, is in fact Robert Holcot (d.1349). The mistake is Wey's, but the misattribution to Grosseteste is not uncommon.[21] The word *curiosus* is a standard part of Holcot's text.[22] Wey, therefore, is not progressive in using the term neutrally, for he is copying a text written over a century before and, to the best of his knowledge, he is following the example of an influential Church teacher.

Recognition of the neutral use of *curiositas* and its related words in the Middle Ages and earlier is not new – Richard Newhauser drew attention to the usage in 1982,[23] but his insight has often not been reflected in subsequent discussion of the discourse of medieval curiosity. Breydenbach's and Wey's usage shows in microcosm that a systematic separation of *admiratio* from *curiositas* is inaccurate. Wey follows Holcot in recognising no such differentiation and he and Holcot use *curiosus* in the same neutral-positive way that a modern writer would use the word 'curious'. *Curiositas*, therefore, is not earthbound, but can be used positively even in a sacred context. Breydenbach does the same thing, albeit more hesitantly, showing also that *curiositas* is not a fixed negative concept that transcends linguistic boundaries. In order to avoid imposing an anachronistic systematic opposition between mundane *curiositas* and sublime *admiratio* or *studiositas*, it will be best if here we use the comprehensive modern term 'curiosity', adjectivally qualified where necessary.

Curiosity in Theology and Literature

Despite the potential for neutral or positive understandings of curiosity, in both Church teaching and broader society, religious tensions around the desire for new knowledge were many and varied and often directly connected with movement and travel. In the theology and literature of the pre-Reformation period, curiosity may be interpreted positively as an ordinary and innate desire, the natural manifestation of human intelligence, but it also has a negative aspect as the warping of this normal human activity into an insatiable desire to know more.[24] In setting out to satisfy his natural curiosity, even about sacred matters, Arnold von Harff was entering – perhaps without knowing, perhaps without caring – a theological minefield.

21 S. Harrison Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235–1253* (Cambridge, 1940), 263.

22 See the following manuscripts: 'Royal 7 C I' (British Library), fol. 110v; 'Cotton Vitellius C XIV' (British Library), 148r.

23 Richard Newhauser, 'Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 56/4 (1982), 567–68.

24 André Cabassut, 'Curiosité', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, and J. de Guibert (Paris, 1937), col. 2654.

Suspicion of curiosity is already to be found in Greco-Roman philosophy,[25] but it passed from there into early Christian thought. The Church Fathers were particularly anxious about the vanity that might result from curiosity; John Cassian even suggested that pride or vanity was the primary motivation for increasing knowledge – the desire to display this newly acquired knowledge to others[26] – while Augustine identified the possibility that a negatively directed spiritual curiosity would lead to a desire to test God. He also specifically criticised the desire to investigate horrors. More broadly, Augustine understood *curiositas* as sensual, and visual in particular, thus associating the negative aspects of curiosity with the criticism of the things of the world in the First Epistle of John (1 John 2:16).[27] Even devoutly inspired curiosity had its dangers, and the urge to investigate God and his creation risked embarking on the path of heresy. Jerome, for example, ascribed the disaster of Babel to men's curiosity in seeking to reach the divine themselves.[28]

These concerns were carried forward into medieval theology. Bernard of Clairvaux wrote of curiosity as the first step on the way to pride ('De primo superbiæ gradu, qui est curiositas'),[29] while Thomas Aquinas raised the role of curiosity in the Fall, posing the question of whether curiosity, rather than pride, was the first sin. While he subsequently dismisses this, affirming that the first sin was indeed pride, he acknowledges the legitimacy of the concerns of his predecessors, noting that different urges can combine into one sin, and that Adam and Eve's desire for knowledge was ultimately spurred by the desire for excellence.[30] Curiosity, pride, and the search for knowledge are thus all connected. Aquinas also devoted two questions (166 and 167) to *studiositas* and 'ipso opposita' [its opposite], *curiositas*. The distinction is that *studiositas* is associated with temperance (*temperantia*), whereas *curiositas* is the opposite, being associated with turning away from useful things in search of pleasure (*delectatio*) from knowledge acquired through all the senses.[31]

The view that the untempered desire for knowledge can lead to sin, even if that desire has the best of motives, can also be seen in later medieval religious writing. Jean Gerson viewed the desire to understand God's judgements as a sin of pride-filled curiosity,[32] understanding the sinful aspect of curiosity

25 P. G. Walsh, 'The Rights and Wrongs of Curiosity (Plutarch to Augustine)', *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, 35/1 (1988), 81.

26 Cabassut, 'Curiosité', col. 2656.

27 Pius Knöll, ed., *St. Augustine's Confessions*, trans. William Watts, Loeb Classical Library, L026–27 (London, 1961), II, 176–78.

28 J.-P. Migne, ed., 'Epistola XXI', in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1845), XXII, col. 383.

29 J.-P. Migne, ed., 'S. Bernardi Abbatis: De gradibus humilitatis et superbiae', in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1859), CLXXXII, col. 957.

30 Gilby, *Summa Theologiae, 44: 2a2æ. 155–70*, 148–63 (Question 163).

31 Gilby, *Summa Theologiae, 44: 2a2æ. 155–70*, 192–209 (Questions 166 and 167).

32 D. Catherine Brown, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge, 1987),

as the desire for knowledge that is both inappropriate and unnecessary for humanity.[33] In his letter *De susceptione humanitatis Christi*, Gerson criticised those people (and women in particular) who attempted to understand through curiosity ['per curiositatem'] the grace bestowed through reception of the Eucharist.[34] We see this in religiously inclined secular literature too: in an unpublished fifteenth-century collection of *Meisterlieder*, John the Evangelist himself is punished for his curiosity in trying 'to understand God rationally'.[35] Even when engaged in devotional practice, then, the dangers posed by negative curiosity were always around the corner.

By the late Middle Ages, the particular devotional practice of pilgrimage and the sin of curiosity had become associated with one another, in both theological discussion and literature.[36] Modern critics often expect that late-medieval writing connected with pilgrimage must have something to say on the matter of curiosity, even if they cannot agree on what that is. Chaucer, for example, has been hailed both as 'a conservative spokesman for the orthodox spiritual values of pilgrimage' in the face of contemporary 'divisive curiosity',[37] and as a figure who guides 'the reader's curiosity, representing *mirabilia* at arm's length, and rendering the experience of wonder unrealizable except through the mental processes of inquiry'.[38] But it is natural that specific concerns would be raised by the apparent incursion of something so profane as curiosity into pilgrimage, which on the face of it should have been the occasion for a spiritual and devotional exercise taking over the physical and worldly act of travel, rather than the other way around. These anxieties built on earlier criticism of pilgrimage by figures like Gregory of Nyssa and Jerome, who had viewed the practice as a dangerously worldly activity, though without specifically invoking the curious impulse.[39] In the early fifteenth century, Thomas à Kempis wrote in his 'De imitatione Christi' that 'qui multum peregrinantur, raro sanctificantur' [those who often go on pilgrimage are rarely sanctified],[40] but it was late-medieval reformers who were particularly

127.

33 Brown, *Pastor and Laity*, 161.

34 Palémon Glorieux, *Jean Gerson: Œuvres Complètes*, 10 vols (Paris, Tournai, Rome, New York, 1960), II, 271.

35 F. Frauchiger, 'Dresden M 13: A Fifteenth-Century Collection of Religious Meisterlieder' (University of Chicago, 1938). Unpublished dissertation, cited in Annette Volfing, *John the Evangelist in Medieval German Writing: Imitating the Inimitable* (Oxford, 2001), 230.

36 Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 4; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Amsterdam, 1995), 48.

37 Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 8.

38 Lightsey, 'Chaucer's Secular Marvels', 290.

39 Anna M. Silvas, ed., tran., *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 83 (Leiden and Boston, 2007), 118–19; J.-P. Migne, ed., 'Epistola LVIII', in *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1845), XXII, 579–86.

40 'Thomas à Kempis: De imitatione Christi. Liber primus', *The Latin Library*, ch. 23.4

concerned. Around the same time, the Wycliffite William Thorpe accused pilgrims of being interested only in the earthly benefits of pilgrimage, and of being 'greete iangelers, tale tellers and lyeris' [great boasters, tale-tellers, and liars].[41] In the early sixteenth century, the cumulative effect of this view of curiosity presented Erasmus with an obvious criticism to level at the practice of pilgrimage in his *Peregrinatio religionis ergo*.[42] He challenges the pilgrim's motivations for embarking on pilgrimage with the sarcastic comment: 'Animi gratia, vt arbitror' [In service of the soul, I am sure], and demolishes his rationale: 'Imo religionis causa' [Indeed, for religious reasons] by allowing the pilgrim to boast of the many sights he has seen.[43] Clearly, then, not only to go on pilgrimage, but particularly to follow the journey by writing and distributing an account of it was to open oneself to criticism. Spiritual writings on the subject of travel or discovery ran the risk of appearing to endorse all aspects of curiosity, both positive and negative. Reports of pilgrimages necessarily described travels through unfamiliar lands not sanctified by the received religious narrative, leaving them vulnerable to the accusation that their authors' primary focus was not spiritual. Too glamorous an account of one's travels opened the author to the suggestion that, as John Cassian had feared, an overindulgence in curiosity had led the pilgrim into vanity. This may be a factor in the frequent presentation of these narratives as handbooks for future pilgrims. Their authors could be understood as guiding the activities of other devout pilgrims, even as bringing them into the textual and conceptual space of pilgrimage, rather than displaying the vanity that (for the critics) was curiosity's endgame, or, worse still, tempting their readership to develop their own sense of (negatively evaluated) curiosity. If a pilgrimage account is simply a guidebook for future generations, the theological dangers of curiosity are minimised. The modern reader should not, however, be misled by this stratagem into a reductive understanding of written accounts of medieval pilgrimage as little more than '*guides*, which had instructed pilgrims what to do at the sacred places and how to get there'.[44] This does not do justice to the wide variety of writings on the subject of pilgrimage, or to the diversity present within the late-medieval hybrid genre of pilgrimage accounts, and it reduces the intentions of the original readers of these works to the purely literal. Both a devotional and practical (beyond literal) purpose was filled by those audience members who viewed the accounts as spiritual travel guides

<http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/kempis/kempis1.shtml> [accessed 17 April 2019].

41 Anne Hudson, ed., *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406; The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 301 (Oxford, 1993), 63–64.

42 L. –E. Halkin, F. Bierlaire, and R. Hoven, eds, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, I–3: *Ordinis primi tomus tertius* (Amsterdam, 1972), 470–94.

43 Halkin, Bierlaire, and Hoven, *Erasmus: Opera Omnia,* I–3, 471.

44 Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 53. Author's italics.

that would direct their imaginary experience: virtual pilgrims, more than anyone, used accounts of pilgrimage in order to access the pilgrimage space.[45]

But by the early fifteenth century there was also a public appetite for descriptions of something more than non-worldly spiritual journeys – for the *instructive* purpose of pilgrimage writing, in other words. Interest in reports of eastern travel, and the wonders encountered en route, is evident from the late-medieval popularity of purported travel accounts containing descriptions of the Indies, a popularity not restricted by linguistic or national boundaries.[46] These – like pilgrimage accounts – tend to be written in the first person, which underlines the immediacy and personal nature of the reports, not to mention their purported veracity. The writings of Marco Polo, Odoric of Pordenone, and, most significantly for pilgrimage writing, John Mandeville, had already achieved a wide circulation by the end of the fourteenth century. Mandeville's text encompassed both a pilgrimage and wider travels and, as we have seen, was crucial to the textual representation of the Holy Land. These works, though on one level conforming to public expectations of what they should contain, nonetheless encourage their audience to imagine a world populated by exotic peoples and creatures, and so to encounter the unknown on a personal level. To explore this personal unknown is personally to express the curious impulse: the desire to know or learn about something novel or strange. The popularity of descriptions of marvels to be found in the East, therefore, shows that these types of text have the potential to disrupt societal norms around the tempering of the individual's desire for knowledge, particularly when – as with Mandeville – these marvels are presented explicitly in the context of a journey that includes a pilgrimage.[47]

Arnold von Harff's account would certainly have satisfied this group of readers who expected marvels alongside devotion. He, like other authors, was aware that his work would not be regarded simply as a guidebook. He deliberately draws a distinction between two groups within his audience, referring

[45] For pilgrimage writings as devotional texts, see Chapter 1.

[46] At the same time, the long tradition of writing and rewriting Alexander romances continued across Europe, exploring similarly marvellous ideas in a non-first-person narrative, but their pre-Christian setting avoids any controversy around the curious impulse.

[47] Antonio García Espada has explored the idea that, through the complexities of their composition processes (new information added by travellers to the already extant tradition), texts on the Indies and the marvels of the East had the potential 'to challenge declared social usage and long standing traditions', and has suggested that, as well as contributing to the 'alleged[ly] imperialistic' genre of travel writing, these texts have also contributed to a 'tradition of introspection and rupture with one's own legacy': Antonio García Espada, 'Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies', *Viator*, 40/1 (2009), 222. These texts' incitement of curiosity can only contribute to that process.

to 'der pylgrym ader der leser' [the pilgrim or the reader].[48] He is consciously writing a work for those who have no intention of going on pilgrimage, alongside potential pilgrims – and the distinction between pilgrim and reader suggests audience members who do not even intend a virtual pilgrimage, as virtual pilgrims ought to be included under the heading of 'pylgrum'. Harff is composing for readers who are potentially simply interested observers. He intends his work to cover more than just his pilgrimage(s), but his intention is quite different from, say, the didacticism of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* and in part this reflects his social status. Harff, unlike our other three pilgrims, was not a clergyman, and he identifies himself at the opening of his account as 'ich Arnolt von Harue ritter' [I, Arnold von Harff, a knight].[49] His work is in the mould of Mandeville, and Mandeville too presents himself as a knight. In the literary figure of the pilgrim who is also a knight – a self-identification that Harff clearly values and to which he repeatedly returns – we find the religious and the secular worlds combined. And if the pilgrim is motivated by a curiosity that may be both religious and secular, the knight, according to a long literary tradition, is a similarly, and ambiguously, curious traveller.

Martin Baisch argues that the expression of curiosity is foundational to secular literature: 'No narrative without curiosity. No curiosity without narrative', and identifies the knightly literature of '*Quest – âventiure*' as providing a particularly strong example of the necessary interplay between curiosity, knowledge, and experience.[50] Indeed, by the High Middle Ages, broadly secular, courtly literature viewed curiosity relatively positively. This identification of the role of quest is key, because it provides the knightly version of the connection between curiosity and travel, which also exists in the case of pilgrimage. Baisch is also right to draw upon the concept of *âventiure*. By the end of the twelfth century, beginning with Chrétien de Troyes (1130–91), *âventiure* is 'no longer arbitrary fortune which befalls the hero, but a test sought by the hero of his own volition'.[51] In courtly literature, the protagonist must actively seek new experiences in the wider world. *Âventiure* is then surely an expression of the desire to know and learn about what is novel or strange: modern curiosity. One of the clearest illustrations of this desire and the limitations that should or should not be placed upon it occurs in *Parzival*, which was written in the early thirteenth century, but

48 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 31.

49 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

50 'Kein Erzählen ohne Neugier. Keine Neugier ohne Erzählen'; 'Neugier, Wissen und Erfahrung'. Martin Baisch, 'Vorausdeutungen: Neugier und Spannung im höfischen Roman', in *Historische Narratologie: Mediävistische Perspektiven*, ed. Harald Haferland and Matthias Meyer, Trends in Medieval Philology, 19 (Berlin, 2010), 211.

51 'nicht mehr willkürliches Geschick, das dem Helden zustößt, sondern eine von ihm aus eigenem Antrieb gesuchte … Bewährungsprobe'. Ingrid Kasten and Volker Mertens, 'Âventure (âventiure)', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier, Gloria Avella-Widhalm, and Robert Auty (Munich and Zürich, 1977, repr. 1980), I, 1289–90.

enjoyed an enduring popularity.[52] The more experienced knight Gurnemanz, passing on his teaching to the young Parzival, represents excessive curiosity as an unchivalric, rather than an irreligious practice, telling him: 'irn sult niht vil gevrâgen' [you should not ask too many questions] (171, 17).[53] Gurnemanz's use of the qualifier 'vil' is a clue that curiosity is not inherently problematic. Curiosity in *Parzival*, when correctly applied, and not overindulged or unnecessarily restrained, is positive. The most explicit of this is when Parzival is cursed for his initial failure to ask the magical Question at the Grail Castle, having gone against his better judgement and suppressed his natural inquisitiveness about the ill health of Anfortas, the Fisher King. Much later, Parzival finally asks, 'œheim, waz wirret dier' [uncle, what ails you?] (795, 29),[54] and through his question – through his acceptance of the value of curiosity – the curse is lifted, his uncle is restored to health, and Parzival becomes the Grail King.

Where oriental travel in particular is concerned, exploration and the collection of exotica are frequently reported approvingly in (semi) secular romance, as, for example, in *Herzog Ernst* (c.1180), which also continued to be copied into the late fifteenth century.[55] Despite the text's broadly positive approach to the desire to know and learn, there is an incident in which curiosity has negative consequences. Having visited the deserted town of Grippia and returned to the ships with provisions, Ernst has a sudden urge to return:

> mich lustet vil sêre
> daz ich hin wider kêre
> und die burc baz besehe
>
> [I greatly desire to turn back and have a better look at the town] (2485–87)[56]

This desire is entirely without practical purpose. Although neither *curiositas* nor its related terms occur here, this is pure curiosity, and curiosity on a visual level, which – according to Augustine – is an integral part of the impulse. Ernst's intemperate desire for knowledge has fatal consequences in this case, despite the text's generally positive portrayal of novelty – all the more

52 Robert Mohr, Robert Schöller, and Michael Stolz, 'Handschriftenverzeichnis', *Parzival-Projekt*, 2013 <http://www.parzival.unibe.ch/hsverz.html> [accessed 17 April 2019].

53 Karl Lachmann and Eberhard Nellmann, eds, *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival*, trans. Dieter Kühn, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 8/1–2, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), I.

54 Karl Lachmann and Eberhard Nellmann, eds, *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival*, trans. Dieter Kühn, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 8/1–2, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), II.

55 For example, Handschriftencensus, 'Herzog Ernst D', *Handschriftencensus* <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/1420> [accessed 17 April 2019].

56 Karl Bartsch, ed., *Herzog Ernst* (Vienna, 1869).

significant a disaster given that Ernst's quest is ultimately taking him to the Holy Sepulchre.[57]

Arnold von Harff, following in the footsteps of Mandeville, and bringing the curiosity of literary knighthood to his pilgrimage, fuses quest and devotional practice. And while there was increasing acceptance of curiosity in secular writing and even, to an extent, in religious contexts, its treatment still merited a certain caution. Our four authors are all writing against this long-term literary backdrop, and Harff sails close to the theological wind. The question of curiosity was still not settled and indeed any increasing comfort with which curiosity was viewed laid the grounds for later challenge – a challenge not definitively settled in favour of curiosity until the seventeenth century.[58]

Curious Pilgrims?

None of our four pilgrims can avoid the complexities surrounding late-medieval curiosity and each writer engages with the impulse with varying degrees of awareness. But Harff is different and it is worth considering why. This is a period of conflicting attitudes, however, rather than of a straightforward development in the understanding of curiosity, so we must not expect to see the emergence of a clear chronological pattern.

William Wey's desire to know and learn about many of the unfamiliar places he visits during his three pilgrimages is clear. At one point, as we have seen, he engages with this desire as a concept, using the word *curiosus*. The use of *curiosus* in conjunction with the word *mirabilia* is typical of Wey's approach: his desire to know and learn is almost entirely religiously motivated. This is particularly clear in the miscellaneous section of short paragraphs (manuscript section 12), in which Wey appears to be writing up brief notes on a variety of subjects, all of which are connected, whether primarily or in passing, to topics of religious importance. His desire to know and learn is certainly extensive, but the answers he seeks are almost always connected to his faith. While Wey's desire to know and learn is not confined to this section,

[57] Martin Baisch covers this episode in some detail, and does not hesitate to label this episode as driven by *curiositas*, although he comments on the text's generally positive appraisal of the curious impulse. Baisch, 'Neugier und Spannung', 205–30.

[58] Peter Harrison, 'Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Isis*, 92/2 (2001), 265. The debate was still ongoing at the beginning of the seventeenth century: Henri de Castela, who travelled to the Holy Land in 1600, used his guide for potential pilgrims (1604 to dissuade his readers from all but holy curiosity: Henri de Castela, *La guide et adresse pour ceux qui veullent faire le S. voiage de Hiérusalem, par V. P. F. Henry Castela* (Paris, 1604); Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford, 1998), 57.

it is striking that so much of the desire is expressed and contained in this section of the manuscript. Here, there is textual space for curiosity.

Most illustrative of his desire to know and learn is the list of questions that closes the miscellany, as well as the similar list that appears earlier, in the account of his 1462 pilgrimage.[59] This is not simply a case of reconciling details in order to ensure that Wey's textual Jerusalem is consistent with the accepted version, though this is, naturally, a priority. Wey is also clearly interested in acquiring and conveying knowledge. There is a certain overlap between the two question-and-answer lists, but they are not identical. This format indicates the active desire to acquire (religious) learning,[60] calling to mind, for example, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa Theologiae*, while the presence of additional questions, as well as varying details in the questions and answers, even when their theme is the same, suggests further research on the part of the author. The answers given to question four in both lists are particularly illuminating, because they represent Wey's attempts to reconcile Scripture, contemporary reality, and tradition, particularly recent textual tradition. Wey first asks where Jehoshaphat was buried 'quia vallis Josaphat habet suum nomen propter sepulturam regis Josaphat ibidem' [since the Vale of Josaphat takes its name from the tomb of King Jehoshaphat in that very place]. When he asks the question again, he elaborates on his reasons for asking: the idea that Jehoshaphat is buried in the Kidron Valley 'est contra Sacram Scripturam, que dicit quod sepultus est in sepulcro patrum suorum vel inter patres suos, quod verum est' [is contrary to Holy Scripture, which says that he is buried in the tomb of his fathers, or amongst his ancestors, which is true]. The solution in both cases is that Jehoshaphat was buried in the Kidron Valley, but that his body was later moved and buried amongst his fathers. In the first case, Wey elaborates to explain that Absalom was also buried elsewhere, despite the attribution 'sepulcrum Absolonis' [tomb of Absalom], and in the second case, he adds that the notion that Jehoshaphat was buried in the Kidron Valley, 'in libro descriptionis terre Jerosolimitane scribitur' [is written in the book describing the land of Jerusalem].[61] This desire to reconcile Scripture with later tradition and his own experience is striking. Wey's approach to religious inconsistencies is to apply curiosity: to explore and solve them. There must be a solution; he does not accept the possibility of real error. This means of resolving discrepancies between differing accounts intersects with the strategy used in late-medieval description of the holy places more broadly,

59 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 82r–83v; 60v–61v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 126–28, 97–98.

60 Over the next century, the question-and-answer format would become standard for catechisms – a basic expression of the desire to acquire religious learning: Lee Palmer Wandel, *Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion* (Leiden, 2015), 56–57. Although Wey was writing a little before this development, he was perhaps tapping into a cultural movement.

61 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 61r, 82v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 97, 127.

and is particularly clear where Wey is concerned, given his frequent use of repetition. He does not focus on fifteenth-century reality, but on ensuring that he describes his own pilgrimages and any possible future pilgrimages in a way that is consistent with descriptions of other pilgrimages within the tradition of late-medieval pilgrimage writing, while finding solutions to apparent contradictions. Wey is entirely conscious of this process, and the question-and-answer lists represent an overt engagement with it – indeed, they allow him to bring a religious curiosity to the strategy of harmonisation. He contributes textually to the creation of the consistent 'meme' Jerusalem, while at the same time seeking textually to solve inconsistencies about which he is curious.

Wey is a conscientious man, familiar with theological writing on the practice of pilgrimage,[62] but he does not criticise curiosity in its religious application. Indeed, by his own example, he actively promotes it. In religious matters, he favours inquiry and investigation but, unlike Harff, he appears to have little interest in secular curiosities, unless he can associate them directly with matters of religious significance. His description of the investiture of the new Doge, for example, focuses on the importance of the Catholic faith, and he has little to say about Venice's arsenal beyond 'ubi faciunt galeas ad defensionem fidei nostre' [where they build ships for the defence of our faith].[63] His only criticism of secular curiosity is his refraining from engaging with it.

Bernhard von Breydenbach deals much more openly with the subject of curiosity. His terminology is revealing: while, in his Latin account, he uses the term *curiositas* (and related words) consistently, he does not always use the same word to denote the concept in German, although he does show a preference for words related to *furwitz*. Breydenbach's language choices in his Latin account show that, even where more than one word is used in German, it is the same impulse that is being discussed. His first engagement with curiosity is at the beginning of his account, and rendered into German as 'menschliche bekorung … oder eyn furwitzikeit' [a human stirring … or a meddlesome curiosity].[64] Breydenbach asks his patrons to excuse him should he, in the course of his narrative, be grasped ['begrifft'] by such an impulse. In Latin, he asks his patrons to forgive him, should 'humana … curiositas' grip him.[65] The implication is clearly – in this instance – that the impulse to which he refers is negative. Moreover, curiosity is personified: it is a particularly human failing, but it is also more than an impulse. It is a sentient temptation.

62 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 17r–18v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 25–29.

63 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 53r; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 85. See, for example, his repetition of the phrase 'in fide catholica': Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 53v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 85.

64 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 4.

65 Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 2r.

The negative view of curiosity is repeated in the context of vanity. Breydenbach condemns those 'fôrwitzigen pilgrem … alleyn getriben von dem geist der ytelheit' [curious pilgrims … driven purely by the spirit of vanity].[66] At this stage of the text, Breydenbach appears to be promoting a traditional approach to curiosity. Like John Cassian, he ties together vanity and curiosity – this type of pilgrim, he claims, will be unlikely to obtain any spiritual benefit from pilgrimage, and will 'keyn nutz von der reyß bringen dan, daz sye nach wyß der alten speher von moysen etwan gesandt, dissen heyligen landen nit yff horen vbel reden' [bring nothing of use from the journey, other than that – like the spies sent by Moses – they will not stop speaking ill of these holy lands].[67]. Breydenbach ultimately subscribes to the prevailing view that certain things are outside mankind's understanding, and should be resisted: 'als do eyner mit menschlichem gesiecht wôlt sehen, daz eyn adeler mit synem scharpffen gesicht kumm mag gesehen' [as though someone wanted to see with human sight what an eagle, with his sharp sight, can barely see].[68]

While his reference to 'heylsame … fûrwitzikeyt' suggests that he does not have a wholly negative view of the desire, Breydenbach's open engagement with the topic of curiosity is usually with reference to the curiosity of others. For example, he includes woodcuts to satisfy his audience's curiosity 'da mit eß nit alleyn were das seelisch aug (daz ist) die verstantnuß mit der geschrifft, sunder auch daz lyplich gesicht mit figuren erlustigen vnd ergetzen' [so that not only the spiritual eye, through understanding of the writing, but the bodily eye too, through images, may be charmed and delighted].[69] This suggests an ability to be visually present in an essentially physical sense through the medium of the printed image as an interim stage between physical travels and spiritual (here, via text). He uses the language of earthly delight to complement the spiritual edification that the 'seelisch aug' will obtain. Evidently there is room for religious and secular curiosity in the pilgrimage context. Breydenbach does not simply indulge his audience's curiosity, however. There is perhaps a degree of irony in his focus on the vanity-fuelled curiosity of others. His book is brimming with the desire to know and learn, and the desire for others also to know and learn, and not simply with reference to the holy curiosity that he sees fit to defend. Although he peppers his descriptions of items of secular interest with Judeo-Christian references, his priority does not always appear to be 'heylsame … fûrwitzikeyt'. On the homeward journey, progress towards Cairo is deliberately interrupted in order to explore (and recount) a primarily secular wonder:

66 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 38.
67 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 38. See Numbers 13:32.
68 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 470.
69 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 8.

> Umb Mittag kam der geleytzman von alkayr vns wollende yn die statt geleytten aber wir erlangten von ym durch groß bytt vnd nit wennig geldt, daz wir yn den lustlichen garten balsami wurden vorhyn gelassen.[70]
>
> [At midday, the man arrived from Cairo to escort us, and wanted to lead us into the city. We, however, persuaded him, with many pleas and not a little money, to let us into the balsam pleasure garden.]

Harff visited the same garden the following decade, but by then it was in ruins.[71] When Breydenbach arrives, the balsam is in its prime: there are 'mancherly baum vnd krudt … welcher ettlich waren yn der ersten bluet' [many trees and herbs … of which a number were in their first bloom]. Breydenbach is completely open about the fact that the group have interrupted their journey and bribed their guide in order to enter the garden. Perhaps in an attempt to excuse the diversion, he mentions that the garden contains a hollow fig tree upon which the Virgin Mary had leaned and 'von stund an thet sich diser baum vff vnd gab der edelen jungfrauwen vnd yrem kynd jhesu eyn bequemlich statt zů rasten dar ynne' [and at once, the tree opened up and gave the noble Virgin and her child Jesus a comfortable place to rest inside]. This, however, is clearly not Breydenbach's main interest in the garden, which he discusses at length. Nonetheless, his religious motives for travel do rise to the surface, and he has a tendency to find the answers to matters that perplex him with reference to the Judeo-Christian tradition. This tendency is demonstrated by his encounter with a tree with enormous leaves, whose fruit is 'lang ǒpffel … an eym styl wachsen eben wie vil wynber an eynem truben' [a long apple … growing in a style like grapes on a vine] . The tree, of course, is a banana plant, but Breydenbach justifies his interest by explaining that when its fruit is sliced open:

> an welchem teyl sie schnytten werden, hatt yedes teyl deß schnydts eyn crutz mit eym bild deß crutzigten dar ynn getrucket vnd man saget auch fur war, daz der baum der erfarung deß gůten vnd bǒsen ym paradiß, deß frucht verbotten was Ade vnnd Eue zů nyessen, sy gewesen derley gestalt als diser baum[72]
>
> [wherever it is cut, each cut section has a cross with an image of the crucified one, and it is held to be true that the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil, whose fruit was forbidden to Adam and Eve, was of the same type as this tree]

Beyond this, and a brief reference to the Nile's ultimate source in the earthly paradise,[73] Breydenbach's interest in the balsam garden is extensive and secular. He explains the process of balsam extraction and the hierarchy of the

70 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 582.
71 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 109.
72 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 582.
73 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 586.

balsam trade, and describes the garden's appearance and scent in evocative terms.[74] But as his religious references demonstrate, Breydenbach seems to be aware of possible tensions between secular curiosity and pilgrimage, and he makes a certain effort to avoid accusations that he is driven by the 'geist der ytelheit' and to represent his desire to know and learn as spiritually directed. Allowing his audience to be curious, however, appears to be another matter. Indeed, he quotes St Jerome's statement that 'do selbet haben wol gelebet vnd sich cristenlichen vnd andechtiglichen gehalten vnder den heyden ist lŏblich' [to have lived well, and conducted oneself in a devout and Christian fashion amongst the heathens is praiseworthy], and that this is better than simply witnessing the holy places.[75]

No doubt this is a sentiment with which Thomas Larke would sympathise. Despite his using the word 'curyous' three times, his engagement with the desire to know and learn is minimal. The word 'curyous', in fact, is a red herring. Larke uses it in order to describe objects: 'gold of curious werke', 'candylestykes … curyously wrought', and a 'shryne … of wonderful curyous and sumptuous werke'. As Anke Bernau has pointed out, reference to crafted objects is the most common use of the term 'curious' in English before the mid-sixteenth century.[76] It is 'tied to human production',[77] and likely to be associated with studiousness, attentiveness, or skill – made with care – rather than engaging with any concept of curiosity as a desire to learn about what is novel and strange.[78] Indeed, Larke's text is marked by a lack of overt curiosity.

It appears from his writing that Larke was a cautious man – certainly he is careful to appear orthodox. His account, more than the other three, is focused single-mindedly on his pilgrimage and the journey to and from Jerusalem. In worldly terms, his importance is diminished by the deaths in Jaffa of Richard Guylforde and the Prior of Gisborough, by far the most significant members of the group, for Larke's own rise to prominence was still in his future. Towards the end of their pilgrimage, his party encounter Guylforde's kinsman, Cristoforo Pallavicino,[79] who had attempted the journey to Sinai but found the passage beyond Cairo too dangerous. Pallavicino's status is a

74 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 584–86.

75 Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 46–48.

76 Anke Bernau, 'Being Curious in Late Medieval England' (Medieval English Research Seminar, Oxford, 3 June 2015).

77 Anke Bernau, *Curiosity, Craft, Nostalgia* (University of Western Australia, 2016) <https://soundcloud.com/emotions_make_history/anke-bernau-curiosity-nostalgia> [accessed 17 April 2019].

78 Oxford University Press, 'curious, adj. and adv.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019, entry last updated 1989) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46040> [accessed 18 April 2019]. Bernau points out that, although not its primary meaning, the noun 'curiosity' could be used to mean 'inquisitiveness', while the adjective 'curious' was more associated with practical skill (or anxiety): Bernau, *Curiosity, Craft, Nostalgia*.

79 For details of the family connection, see Rob Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing

significant boost, and the English party extend their pilgrimage. Not only do they have time to visit other holy sites, but they are able to return to the Holy Sepulchre 'by meanes of the company of the sayd noble man, and some parte for our money'.[80] Larke is careful to highlight his religious motivations for further exploration of the Holy Land, planning to visit 'dyuers pylgrymages and holy thynges that we had not sene byforne'. While this suggests a certain desire, whether for his own sake, or that of his audience, to learn about something new, and highlights the importance of the visual in a pilgrimage context, it appears alongside a statement that directly contradicts the appeal of novelty: 'we were glad and desyrous to se and vysyte more oftener the holy places there'.[81] He does not primarily desire to see or to learn new things, but to deepen his experiences at religious sites already witnessed, by means of repetition. This physical repetition calls to mind William Wey's literal and textual repetition of his own pilgrimages. Larke's desire is less to learn about what is novel and strange than to have the same experience again and again: repeatedly to enter the conceptual space of pilgrimage. His use of Breydenbach's words to describe the holy places ensures that even his first visit to many of the holy places is not a novel experience, but already a repetition. The same could be said of many pilgrim authors, including Breydenbach himself.

Larke's unwillingness to express curiosity is indicative of a man unwilling to transgress any boundaries in the course of his pilgrimage. He will 'vystyte [places] more oftener', but he will not employ any illicit methods to see places not immediately open to him. He is aware that places forbidden to Christians may be accessed 'pryuely or for brybes',[82] but his curiosity (unlike Harff's, as we shall see) is insufficient to merit the risk. Money is not the issue – he pays to re-enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Like other pilgrims, he desires to visit as many holy sites as he can in the course of his pilgrimage, but he values his integrity as a pilgrim over the number of places visited. The number of sites reported on, however, is another matter. His desire to describe as many holy sites as possible leads him, like those virtual pilgrims who travel only through reading, to visit sites textually, rather than physically. He uses other pilgrims' experiences to report not only on places he has visited, but also to describe those that he could not visit. His description of 'holy thynges that we had not sene byforne' is not simply his own, which he admits freely: 'as some of vs visyted one place and some an other so that whan we mette eche reported vnto other as we had founden and sene; and so I put the parts of my

in Early Sixteenth-Century England: The Pilgrimage Accounts of Thomas Larke and Robert Langton', *Viator*, 48/3 (2017), 349–50.

80 Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), 46.

81 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 46.

82 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 30.

vysytacion as well as others into this lytell Remembraunce'.[83] This transforms the subsequent section into an openly acknowledged collective account. By disowning any individual achievement in experiencing so many places, Larke negates any charge of vanity resulting from curiosity. He travels textually from within a physical pilgrimage, stating: 'I sawe not this temple within, but I wryte as I herde therof there, and sawe by wrytynge'.[84] In the midst of his physical pilgrimage, he sees with the 'seelisch aug' to which Breydenbach refers.

Indeed, beyond his decision to embark upon pilgrimage, which can in itself be seen as an act of repetition, Larke presents himself as immune even to the pious curiosity that Wey and Breydenbach seem to endorse, and Harff indulges freely. The lack of curiosity inherent in his understanding of pilgrimage is emphasised when the pilgrims' ship is in danger of being wrecked during a storm. The pilgrims on board offer further pilgrimages in exchange for their survival. Larke thus comes closer than our pilgrims to engaging in pilgrimage as a purely spiritual exercise – or even a spiritual bargain. Moreover, the pilgrimages being offered in recompense for a safe journey are to be done 'in all our behalffes' by a third party.[85] The identity of the pilgrim does not matter if all pilgrimages are essentially the same, nor, if another person is to go in their place, is there any need or outlet for curiosity. Either curiosity is simply alien to Larke, or he is at pains to rebuff Wycliffite accusations and ensure that no accusation can be levelled at him that his motivation for pilgrimage is curiosity (or associated vanity, in the telling).

Arnold von Harff's relationship with curiosity is far more complex. The curious impulse features more prominently in his work, and curiosity is expressed in both religious and secular spaces. His curious enquiries, even when motivated by secular interests, always take place against the background of what he calls his 'praiseworthy pilgrimage'.[86] This pilgrimage setting places his adventures in a devotional context, in which reservations about the curious impulse will inevitably arise. His curiosity is complex and comprehensive, but his strategies for satisfying it can be broadly divided into visual and textual solutions.

Harff's Visual Experience

After his return to Cologne, Arnold von Harff produced an account of his journey for the benefit of his patrons. In this report, he recounted in detail all of his travels, from the standard pilgrimage destinations to the more unexpected: he claimed also to have visited India and Madagascar, and to have discovered

[83] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 46–47.
[84] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 46. Larke refers here to the Dome of the Rock.
[85] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 68.
[86] 'loebliche pylgrymmacie': von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

the source of the Nile. Harff does not exhibit awareness of any moral dangers supposedly associated with curiosity, or engage with theological debate on the subject. Nor does he put a label on the desire to know and learn – the desire to experience the novel and the strange – which permeates his work. The text fluctuates between the kind of description of the holy places common to much late-medieval writing about the Jerusalem pilgrimage, and vivid accounts of journeys that have little to do with pilgrimage. Nevertheless, these different components of Harff's work allow both his visual experience and his textual experience to be understood as an engagement with the problematic aspects of curiosity.

As we have seen, theological criticism of curiosity usually identifies it as an uncontrolled desire to *know* more, although Augustine, of course, saw it as having a visual basis, going as far as to describe curiosity as 'concupiscentia oculorum' [concupiscence of the eyes].[87] According to Jeffrey Hamburger, curiosity is invoked in the Middle Ages 'in contexts hostile to images, the imaginary, and the visual in all its forms'.[88] However, both visual and textual culture clearly play a role in the expression of the curiosity of a pilgrim – illustrations are an integral part of Harff's account. Pilgrimage writing more broadly may indeed ultimately be a textual expression of visual curiosity and, after all, the increasing significance of visuality in medieval piety allowed a rather obvious justification for pilgrimage. Wey quotes Pope Leo I on this subject: 'Quid laborat intellectus ubi est magister aspectus? Et cur lecta vel audita sunt dubia ubi se et visui et tactui tot humana salutis vigere sacramenta?' [Why should the mind labour when in places where sight is the teacher? And what reason is there to be doubtful when reading or listening in places where so many visual and tactile guarantors of salvation flourish for humanity?].[89] Leo was writing in the fifth century, and Suzannah Biernoff argues that by the late Middle Ages, sight was the primary sense for identifying the sacred, asking 'why *visibility* should be a privileged signifier or site of divine reality, rather than, say, hearing or touching'.[90] Nonetheless, the primacy of sight is established within the Gospel narrative itself: Thomas asks for tactile proof of the Resurrection, but Jesus's words imply that sight is sufficient. Perhaps, for all of these pilgrims, and particularly for Harff, who must witness (or appear to witness) everything, sacred and secular, at first hand, the words 'quia vidisti me credidisti' [because thou hast seen me … thou hast believed] are particularly apt. Their detractors, both those opposed to pilgrimage in general, and those particularly opposed to the expression of

87 Knöll, *Augustine's Confessions*, II, 174.

88 Jeffrey F. Hamburger, 'Idol Curiosity', in *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Krüger (Göttingen, 2002), 22–23.

89 The manuscript reads 'audia', but 'audita' is clearly meant. Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fols 18r–18v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 28.

90 Suzannah Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002), 133.

curiosity in the context of pilgrimage, might emphasise the subsequent caveat: 'beati qui non viderunt et crediderunt' [blessed are they that have not seen, and have believed] (John 20:29).[91]

Certainly in Harff's case, visuality is the way into his curiosity. His experiences are almost always rooted in the visual – he travels (or claims to have travelled) in order to *see* more. The importance of external visual culture can be said to have increased in the later medieval period – Biernoff notes an increase in 'production and use of religious images' from the early thirteenth century, which can be viewed 'as evidence of a new "need to see"'.[92] It is, then, unsurprising that, by the late fifteenth century, this 'need to see' had evolved from seeing images to seeing reality: from another person's image, to one's own visual image. However, Biernoff also explains that 'the later Middle Ages also saw the popularisation of "indulgence images" associated with the remission of sin'.[93] Since indulgences could be gained either upon viewing an image or the real place, it follows that the reality or unreality of what is seen is not *spiritually* significant. After all, a properly conducted virtual pilgrimage could result in as many indulgences as literal pilgrimage. Pictures and imagined sights resulting from verbal descriptions could therefore belong in the same spiritual category as the physical sight of real places. But sight is not exclusively spiritual, and if indulgences could be acquired from images, or from other virtual pilgrimages, it is logical to consider other motives for going on a physical pilgrimage, for example, the desire, or the need, to see the real location. This desire does not need to be exclusively, or even predominantly, religiously motivated.

In both Mandeville's *Book* and the *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, pilgrimage places, mundane destinations, and fantastic spaces come together to create a textual whole, though the arrangement of places within each work is at least partially non-experiential. In the former, the journey branches out from the Holy Land into the wonders of the East, and Zacher suggests that 'Mandeville's curiosity asserted itself most noticeably once he advanced beyond the Holy Land'.[94] Harff, by contrast, claims to have travelled widely through the East *before* reaching the Holy Land, setting a tone of curiosity from the start. His pilgrimage itself is located within a context of curious exploration, and its spiritual sense therefore risks being downgraded. The actions Harff takes to satisfy his inquisitiveness call to mind theological criticism of curiosity as an unrestrained and visual desire that could lead to heresy. Harff, however, sees no conflict between curiosity and pilgrimage.

91 Robert Weber and others, eds, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 5th edn (Stuttgart, 2007); *The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate* [Douay-Rheims Translation, John Murphy Edition] (Baltimore, 1914). Biblical quotations and translations refer to these editions.

92 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 2–3.

93 Biernoff, *Sight and Embodiment*, 3.

94 Zacher, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage*, 152.

While Rome (and not Cairo)[95] is Harff's first real foray into secular curiosity, his focus in Rome is mostly religious, whereas his description of Cairo is absolutely comprehensive, covering its layout, government, current affairs, trade, inhabitants, wildlife, and religious and cultural practices. Despite a lack of religious material, Harff devotes nearly as much descriptive space to Cairo as to Rome. Cairo, indeed, does not contain any kind of religious space for Harff. Here, he is purely a tourist, and when he is shown attractions by his guides, it is: 'mich dat wael laissen besien' [to let me have a good look at it].[96] His own personal desire to see things 'well' is not his only motivation, however, and he does not forget his audience. He wants them to marvel too, and writes: 'hernae will ich schriujuen etzliche wunderliche geschefften van deser groisser stat Alkayr, die in desen landen gar ongeleuflich sijnt zo hoeren' [afterwards I will write about some of the wondrous things in this great town of Cairo, which would be quite unbelievable to hear in our lands].[97] His motivation is not pious, and yet his language in the latter case is that of supernatural wonder and belief. *Curiositas* and *admiratio* cannot easily be disentangled.

The negative aspect of curiosity, we remember, was often interpreted as an unrestrained desire to see and to know ever more.[98] Harff's curiosity is often even indulged by offering bribes and exploring in disguise, and one of the most significant episodes involving these techniques is his visit to Cairo. On his arrival, both in Cairo and in Alexandria, he identifies himself as a merchant in order to save three ducats – pilgrims had to pay five ducats to land, merchants only two.[99] The identification as a merchant is vocal deception, but Cairo also presents an occasion for disguise, or visual deception. The disguise, far more than his description of the sites of interest, gives us a window into Harff's expression of curiosity. The revelation about his disguise is casual: in the midst of his description of Cairo, Harff mentions:

> cristen noch juden moyssen in deser stat neyt rijden, wye waell ich duck mit desen tzwen duytzschen mammeloicken durch die stat reyt. dat was der oirsaichen, ich was gekleydt wie sij rijden[100]
>
> [neither Christians nor Jews may ride in this town, but I often rode with these two German Mamluks through the town, which is why I was dressed like them]

95 Albrecht Classen, 'Constructed Space in the Late Middle Ages: Arnold von Harff's Incidental Discovery of a New Paradigm of Urban Space in Cairo', *German Studies Review*, 33/2 (2010), 378.

96 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 89.

97 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 91.

98 *besehe* is also the word used of Ernst's desire to revisit Grippia (*Herzog Ernst*, 2487).

99 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 77, 85.

100 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 94.

The disguise enables his Mamluk acquaintances to take him through Cairo 'al dynck wael zo beseyn' [to look at everything thoroughly].[101] The desire to *see* everything, then, is typical of Harff's textual persona, and no doubt it exposes him to the risk of falling victim to the supposedly negative – excessive – aspect of curiosity. The word 'beseyn', however, reveals more, and more than Harff intends. It keeps his experience firmly on a visual level, seemingly without his being aware of the fact that his every appearance in disguise is a deception that emphasises the unreliability of the visual experience.

Harff's portrait of the Cairo Mamluks, whose appearance he adopts, is far from flattering. He describes them as, effectively, apostates: European captives who have been forcibly converted from Christianity to Islam and become high-ranking, although unfree, soldiers.[102] Characteristically for Harff, the identification begins visually: 'die mammeloicken kent man an deser gestalt' [one recognises the Mamluks from this appearance].[103] Mamluk costume is described in detail, and presented pictorially. The illustration, as is usual for all of Harff's pictures, is fully integrated into the main text with an introductory clause (here, 'as in deser gestalt'). The visual becomes behavioural through a description of the 'groyssen stock' [big stick] carried by every Mamluk, and its use:

> wan eyn heyde, crist ader jude yen etzwat off der straessen zo nae treyt aff yen an rueret, den slayn sij zo der erden, so dat mallich yen off der straessen platz moyss geuen. ich hayn gesyen dat eyn mammeloick off der straessen me dan hundert heyden verjoege. sij en doersten sich nyet weren.
>
> [If a heathen, Christian, or Jew goes near enough to touch them, they strike him to the earth so that all must give them space in the street. I have seen a Mamluk chasing more than a hundred heathens from the street. They did not dare to defend themselves.]

These negative images of Mamluks are further compounded when he adds that 'dese mammeloicken gaynt ouch wael offenbair by eyns heydens wijff, he en dar nyet wael dar intgayn sagen' [these Mamluks will quite openly visit a heathen's wife, and he dares not say anything against it].[104]

Even though Harff clearly does not view Mamluks positively, he is still willing to present himself on a visual level as a Mamluk during his time in Cairo. He informs his audience that Mamluks can be recognised by their outward appearance, and takes advantage of this in order to explore the city,

[101] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 86.

[102] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 103–05. Harff bases his descriptions of Mamluks and their origins on his personal experiences with a small number of German Mamluks. Mamluks are discussed more generally in the Introduction and in Chapter 2.

[103] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 103.

[104] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 104.

but does not indicate that his own Christian identity is affected by appearing outwardly to be a Mamluk. Through this strategy, this archetypal example of a pilgrim who '*knows* because he *saw*' upsets the delicate 'balancing act between "I saw" and "it is"'.[105] On some level, then, Harff is aware that appearance does not necessarily reflect reality. His interest is not in what it is like to *be* a Mamluk – in fact, his own conclusions about Mamluks are made primarily on the basis of their external appearance. The disguise is simply a tool allowing him to see more. This presents an interesting contrast: Harff's desire to see all that he can represents a belief in the primacy of the visual experience, and yet his own visual presentation is deliberately misleading. Dallas G. Denery has written of a growing interest from the fourteenth century onwards in a 'distinction between what appears and what exists'.[106] This distinction is neatly encapsulated in Harff's contradictory actions, although he appears unaware of it. His lack of awareness reminds us that the idea of a visual self-perception is not as obvious in a medieval context as in a modern context. Denery sees the later Middle Ages as a period in which 'people had come to think about themselves primarily in visual terms',[107] but Harff's self-perception is still partly determined by a society without the modern constant and instant availability of one's own image (in a mirror if nothing else).[108]

Harff does not further elaborate on the behaviour of Mamluks – it is, after all, not his primary interest – but, with characteristic attention to detail, he corrects reports of the process by which a captive becomes a Mamluk. He first outlines the process according to what 'man sayt in desen lande' [is said in these lands]: 'so moyss he vnsen heren Jhesum verluckende mit sijner moder ind dar zoe off dat cruytz spijen ind laissen sich eyn cruytz vnder die voesse snijden durch smaeheyt dar off zo treden' [He must renounce our Lord Jesus with his Mother, and also spit on the cross and allow a cross to be cut on the soles of his feet, and ignominiously tread on it]. As this is 'nyet waer' [not true], Harff provides the correct formula by which one accepts Islam.[109] Although he intends to correct a myth, this focus on the precise form of the act of conversion inadvertently draws attention to the fact that, rather than disguising himself as an ordinary member of another religion, he is presenting himself as someone who has deliberately renounced Christianity.

[105] Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio' from Venice to Jerusalem.* (University Park, 2014), 44. Author's italics. Ross is referring to Breydenbach, who, in her assessment, does strike this balance.

[106] Dallas G. Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life* (Cambridge, 2005), 2–3.

[107] Denery, *Seeing and Being Seen*, 7.

[108] For an analysis of the role of mirrors in medieval (and early modern) culture and society, including with reference to identity construction, see: Nancy M. Frelick, ed., *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections* (Turnhout, 2016).

[109] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 104–05.

The Mamluks' apparent abandonment of Christianity is for Harff their defining feature, for, as he understands it, they begin as 'verkoufften cristen' [traded Christians].[110] There is also another element of cultural denial, for Mamluks are 'selden duytzschen' [rarely Germans].[111] Perhaps because of his visual self-presentation, Harff feels compelled to specify that these practices 'nyet me … gedayn waert' [were not done to me].[112] This explanation to his audience does not negate his visual renunciation of Christianity as he walked the streets of Cairo disguised as a Mamluk. It is easy to assume that Harff has disregarded the supposed primary purpose of his pilgrimage, for he identifies himself first as a merchant, and then as a Mamluk, and it is true that he uses dishonest means in order to further his curiosity. His own religious motives, though, are never far from his mind, and he makes a clear distinction between the superficiality of his disguise and the reality of abandoning his faith, when he relates attempts made to keep him in Cairo at the service of the Sultan. Had he responded to the temptations of 'gelde ind … schoynen vrauwen' [money and … beautiful women], the servants of the Sultan would have 'mich dan eynen mameloicken gemaicht, as ich noch maemail wael innen wart' [made me a Mamluk, which I would never have accepted].[113] He is, though, prepared to stretch the point, albeit when forced. When he describes how he was imprisoned on arrival in Gaza, probably for failure to pay his tolls, he is not forthcoming with the details of his imprisonment.[114] Later, however, he concedes that 'die woert ind ander tzeichen die ich zo Gazera durch bedwanck in deme gevenckenyss saigen moiste' [the words and other signs that I was forced to perform in prison in Gaza] could be used to identify one as a 'heathen'.[115] At the earlier point, all he is prepared to write is 'wat wir dar vmb lijden moisten ind zo etzlichen saichen gedrungen woirden' were things that 'nyet cristlich luyden seulden … dar vmb ich sij vnder wegen laisse' [what we had to suffer, and what we were forced to do … [was] not appropriate for Christian people … therefore I shall leave it out].[116] Nonetheless, it is clear that when Harff sees an obstruction to his faith, he names it and protests against it. Clearly, then, he does not understand curiosity, even when entirely secular and indulged through apparent visual renunciation of his faith, as an impediment to pilgrimage. His curiosity, moreover, is equally evident when he is in religious spaces.

[110] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 103.
[111] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 103.
[112] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 105.
[113] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 98.
[114] See Chapter 2, 78.
[115] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 178.
[116] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 160.

Visual Experience and Religious Curiosity

By the time Harff reaches the Holy Land, he is nearly two-thirds of the way through relating his experiences, and his curiosity continues to find expression within the Holy Land, although not quite in the same way. In this broadly religious space, it finds more religious outlets, although this is not to say that he visits the standard holy places curious for new knowledge; his description of them corresponds with that of the other three pilgrims. While there is evidently a gulf between the historical pilgrim Arnold von Harff and the narrator of the account, who claims some rather fantastical experiences, one key shared feature is the importance they both attach to detail and enquiry. In the context of Aquinas's separation of aspects of curiosity, this might be thought to constitute a slightly misunderstood *studiositas*; in fact, though, it serves even better to demonstrate the difficulty of separating curiosity into simple positives and negatives.

Harff frequently gains access to religious sites from which Christians and Jews are barred – at one point, he is taken into the Tomb of the Patriarchs in Hebron:

> ouch steyt in deser stat eyn schone meskijt aeder heydensche kirche, dar in ich intgayn den auont gefoirt waert … dae inne alle die altveders Abraham Ysaac Jacob ind anderen lijgen begrauen in kostlichen sarcken[117]
>
> [in this town there was also a beautiful mosque, or heathen church, into which I was taken in the evening … Inside it, all the patriarchs – Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and others – lie buried in sumptuous coffins]

At this point, he does not explain the circumstances under which he gained entry to the Tomb, but Wey, Breydenbach, and Larke do not seem to have had access to it, and so it may be reasonably assumed that he used similar tactics to those elaborated elsewhere. These are described during one of the most extraordinary episodes in Harff's narrative: a clandestine visit to the Dome of the Rock, which pilgrims understood to be of religious significance because it was identified as the Temple of Solomon:

> voert qwaemen wir an den templus Salomonis … item ich waert mit schenckonge ind groisser versweger hulft van eynem mammeloicken in desen tempel gefoirt, dar geyn crist noch jude in gayn moiss off dar bij geneicken, as sij sagen ind wyllen, dat wir snoede hunde sijnt ind neyt wirdich sijnt vff die heylige stede zo gayn off eyn peen des doytz, des ich ouch erscrack. doch vnderweyss mich der mammeloick, ich mit yeme eyns aeuontz in sijner gesteltenysse gekleydt gayn sulde, weult er mich in den tempel voiren, ind wae ich gekant wurde, wie ich dan eynem heyden mit woerden nae der spraichen antworden seulde … item soe hoelde mich der mammeloick eyn auontz vss deme cloister monte Syon in

[117] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 160–61.

> sijn huyss in meynonge, ich bij yeme die naicht gheslaiffen seulde hauen, dae inne he mich rust mit kleyder ind aller gesteltenys wie eyn mammeloick, also traeden wir vnder vns beyden tgegen den auont in den tempel Salmonis, der durch sijne besteltenys vns vff geslossen wart ind ouch van stunt an weder zoe, vmb den wille, dat wir neit oeuerlouffen en wurden, deme ich schencken moiste vier ducaeten[118]
>
> [We came to the Temple of Solomon … With gifts and great secret help from a Mamluk, I was taken into this temple, into which no Christian or Jew is allowed, for they say that we are abject dogs, and not worthy to go into the holy places on pain of death, at which I was afraid. But the Mamluk instructed me that I should go with him one evening, dressed like him, and he would take me into the temple, and if I were recognised, I should answer like a heathen in their language … So one evening, the Mamluk fetched me from the Monastery of Mount Sion and took me to his house, as though I were going to sleep there that night. Then he provided me with clothes so that I was like a Mamluk in appearance. So that evening we both went to the Temple of Solomon which, through his organisation, was closed behind us immediately so that we should not be overrun, for which I had to give four ducats]

This passage shows how Harff's curiosity is manifested in a religious context, and the lengths to which he is prepared to go in order to complete his experience. And in so doing, he enters, apparently unconcerned, a very contemporary debate. Felix Fabri, who had travelled in the same pilgrim group as Breydenbach, suggested that just such an escapade would risk at least the appearance of curiosity:

> videre restat, an Christianus sine peccato possit muscheam intrare, non ad adorandum, nec ad perditionem, nec ignominiam aut truffam faciendam, sed solem ad videndum, tam muscheam quam ritum ejus. Credo, si sine periculo ingredi poterit et sine nota, quod non committat magnum peccatum, quamvis curiosis videatur esse, nisi devotio eum et non curiositas impelleret. Si enim muschea stat in loco aliquo sancto, et Christianus occulte potest et sine nota et periculo habere ingressum et egressem, tum merito potest ingredi et terram deosculari et orationem fundere.[119]
>
> It remains that we should see whether a Christian can without sin enter a mosque, not to pray, nor to destroy any part of it, nor yet to offer any insult to it, or play any tricks with it, but merely to behold the mosque and the ritual thereof. I believe that if he can enter in without danger and unnoticed that he does not commit a great sin – albeit he appears to be inquisitive if it be mere curiosity, and not devotion whereby he is brought in thither. If the mosque

[118] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 178.

[119] Konrad Dietrich Hassler, ed., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 18 (Stuttgart, 1849), III, 229.

> stands in any holy place, and a Christian can secretly and unnoticed go in and out of it without danger, then he can meritoriously enter, kiss the earth, and say his prayer.[120]

While Fabri suggests beholding the interior of the mosque as a possible cause, he also suggests that, should the primary purpose of such behaviour be to offer prayers, any curiosity would be negated. Harff's motives in entering the Dome of the Rock are not to pray; they are specifically to see and to discover. But although he displays again the same 'desire to know or learn' about his unfamiliar surroundings that was evident during his adventures in Cairo, here Harff's desire to learn is religiously motivated. Precisely though because his curiosity is religious, the detail of the episode most incongruous with it stands out with particular prominence: in the midst of a pilgrimage, leaving the monastery in the middle of the night, Harff is prepared, not only to dress as a non-Christian, but also vocally to identify himself as a 'heyden', and, moreover, to use the words and signs he was forced to say while imprisoned in Gaza,[121] when he has previously been reticent to describe what happened there. Here, however, he mentions a deliberate repetition of some of those actions in a relatively casual fashion. Harff is prepared to expose himself to these physical and spiritual dangers in order to obtain a detailed first-hand account of the Dome's interior. He was not the only person to attempt this, or to claim to have attempted it. According to Fabri, a knight of his acquaintance dressed as a 'Saracen' ('indutum habitu sarracenico') and went with a Mamluk as far as the courtyard, but dared go no further.[122] Harff, or so he claims, did not falter. He could have employed Larke's method of travelling by writing. He could, as did Breydenbach, have asked a local for details of the interior, and would have received a brief description of 'eyn kleyner velß mit eym yssin gittir zů ring vmbgeben' [a small rock with an iron grille around it] that no one is allowed to approach,[123] but this would have satisfied neither Harff's curiosity nor that of his audience, and would have deprived him of the opportunity to portray himself as an intrepid investigator, returning a Christian presence to the space.[124] Given that other pilgrims were said to have tried and

[120] Aubrey Stewart, tran., *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri (Part 3) 1484 A.D.*, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 10 vols (London, 1897), IX, 256–57.

[121] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 178.

[122] Hassler, *Fabri Evagatorium*, III, 229; Stewart, *Fabri: Wanderings*, IX, 257.

[123] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 150.

[124] It is, of course, possible that Harff's adventure is an invention, and the information did come from a local, but this does not alter Harff's representation of his daring actions to an audience, nor his failure to mention any potential sin or heresy. As Fabri makes clear, the appearance of curiosity is a risk in itself. Mandeville claims also to have entered the Dome of the Rock but, although he mentions many of the same biblical references and features as Harff, neither the descriptions, nor the order in which they appear, nor the language used is nearly close enough to assume that Harff simply copied them: Eric

not succeeded, Harff once again occupies the position of an *âventiure*-seeking knight, triumphing where his predecessors had failed. Although his means of satisfying his religious curiosity have much in common with the means he adopts in a secular context, what seems at the very least like emphatic irreligiousness can still serve a religious purpose: Harff uses the visual appearance of apostasy to overlay salvation history on top of the non-Christian present for the sake of his readers.

Yet Harff's use of disguise for religious ends is highly problematic. In life, as in literature, pilgrims' clothing functions as a signifier, as he is fully aware; in his illustrations, Harff often conspicuously carries a set of rosary beads and he notes that pilgrims to Compostela identified themselves with a scallop shell, although he does not illustrate the practice.[125] Disguise is therefore a serious disruption to the visual order, whether it is Reynard the Fox dressing as a pilgrim to entrap his innocent acquaintances,[126] or Harff the pilgrim disguising himself as one of the 'verloneckende cristen' [renegade Christians], as he himself identifies Mamluks.[127] It is a deliberate denial of his pilgrim identity, which ought to be his defining feature, especially when visiting a holy site. Harff denies his Christianity outwardly in the hope of seeing sites sacred to the Christian faith, but does not mention any discord between deed and intention. There must be an unstated understanding about the significance of this denial between Harff and his various Mamluk guides, at least some of whom, being German-born, presumably performed this renunciation some time earlier. Despite openly admitting his disguise, Harff provides no illustrations of himself in clothes other than his own. The denial can be narrated, but never seen.

Harff allows his companions to believe that he 'bij yeme [the Mamluk] die naicht gheslaiffen seulde hauen' [slept at the Mamluk's house that night]. This dishonesty suggests that he anticipates their disapproval. He does not, though, conceal the truth of his actions from his audience, who are thus drawn into his deceit, and made complicit in his curiosity. Given these circumstances, this type of curiosity would certainly have been viewed negatively, not least by contemporary critics of pilgrimage. Confiding in his audience in a way in which he did not confide in his fellow pilgrims allows Harff to pass some of the responsibility for this venture, and any associated negative curiosity, onto the audience: he has acted in a way not straightforwardly Christian in order to provide them with more information. Admitting that the danger of death

---

Morrall, ed., *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, LXVI (Berlin, 1974), 55–59. When Harff uses Mandeville, he tends to follow him fairly closely (see Chapter 3, 147–48).

125 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 233–34.

126 N. F. Blake, ed., *The History of Reynard the Fox*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 263 (London, 1970), 46.

127 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 76.

frightened him ['ich ouch erscrack'] humanises his experiences. It reminds the audience that what they are hearing is real, and demonstrates what he is willing to risk for their benefit. Harff rarely admits to fear, but doing so at this point is deliberately calculated to raise narrative tension. He does not express any fear when describing his captivity in Gaza, but his ruse to gain entrance to the Dome of the Rock is an act of curiosity and bravado – a deliberate choice to gain knowledge in the face of danger, even an example of a literary knight seeking *âventiure*.

Harff is taking a great risk in entering the Dome of the Rock – a greater risk, in fact, than he acknowledges to his audience. There is a certain romance in facing death for their benefit, but this other danger might be less sympathetically received. As Thomas Larke explains, 'The Sarrasyns woll suffre no cristen man to come within the sayd Temple, and if he do he shall be compelled incontynently to renye his fayth and crystendome, or ellys he shalbe put to execucion.'[128] To risk one's body is one thing, but to risk one's soul for the sake of curiosity is another entirely, particularly within the pilgrimage setting. Harff does not mention the danger of forced conversion, which presumably means that he has no intention of conversion, but his failure to mention the existence of the alternative may also indicate a reluctance to connect his visual apostasy in the minds of his audience with the possibility of the real thing. The information he shares with them is carefully controlled.

Just as Harff maintains his pilgrim identity under his superficially Mamluk appearance, so he also seeks to identify a Christian significance under the non-Christian exterior of the Dome. Indeed, upon entering it, his focus is wholly Christian, his secular curiosity forgotten. His interest is attracted by Islamic artefacts only insofar as they have a direct impact on the Judeo-Christian tradition. Thus he describes the 'viereckte cisterne dae sich die heyden degelichs vss wesschen' [the four-cornered cistern in which the heathens wash daily] in order to explain that it 'is dit dey cistern aeder fonteyne, dae die heylige schrijffture van sait: ich han dat wasser in ind vss sien gayn' [is the cistern or fountain of which Holy Scripture says: I saw water going in and out].[129] However, although Harff's interest in the inside of the Dome and in the other places on the Temple Mount is apparently in their Christian heritage, they cannot occupy the pilgrimage space in the same way as the standard holy sites. The Dome is other in a present and ongoing sense, for it is where 'die heyden preyster yere gebet ind getzijde yetzont halden' [the heathen priests now hold their prayers and offices].[130] This view from within its contemporary interior means that the other is not contained, as it is for the other pilgrims, who cannot access the Dome and who therefore remain

[128] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 43–44.
[129] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 180. See Ezekiel 47:1–12 and Revelation 22:1.
[130] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 179.

external to it. At the price of disguising himself as an apostate, Harff's curiosity has allowed him to enter a space in which the Jewish and Christian past and the Islamic present compete for his attention on equal terms: he sees the tabernacle that Muslims 'in gar groisser ere ind vur eyne heylige stat verwaren' [view with great honour, and as a holy place], and which also 'die juden vur Cristi geboirt in groisser ere heylten' [before Christ's birth, the Jews held in great honour], as well as noting that 'ouch hat vnser here Jhesus vil mirakel vff desem fyltzen bedreuen, dae van mir der mammeloick eygentlich neit wist sagen' [our Lord Jesus also performed many miracles on this rock, but the Mamluk did not know what to tell me about them].[131] Through an adventure instigated by curiosity, during which he has to hide his pilgrim identity, Harff tries to reclaim the space as Christian, both by his focus on Christian elements in the Dome, and by representing the Mamluk as attempting to remove the memory of Christ's miracles from the rock. Although he does not ignore the Islamic presence in the Dome, and does not therefore represent the Dome as belonging to the conceptual space of pilgrimage, because of his focus on Christian elements there is a sense in which Harff brings his own pilgrimage into this non-pilgrimage space.

Harff appears not to see any conflict between the cost of his curiosity and his religious purpose – indeed his description of his experiences in the Dome of the Rock is calculated to represent him as a heroic religious adventurer, returning Christian history to a place where an attempt has been made to shut it out. The means (disguise and dishonesty to the point of a complete subversion of visual appearances) are justified by the ends (personal experience of religious sites, and recovery of their Christian meaning) or, to put it in the terms of curiosity, there are few moral limits to the process of knowing and learning – even in a religious context. Religious curiosity is represented in Harff's narrative as a virtue. Such a view is of course fully compatible with the possibility that in other circumstances curiosity might be a vice. It is quite usual for a sin to be conceived of as the warping, or misapplication, of something virtuous,[132] so even negatively evaluated curiosity might be only the distortion of something good. But for Harff the broad pilgrimage experience – even, it would seem, to the point of feigned apostasy – can, if performed for truly religious reasons, be an example of positive, religious curiosity.

The importance of the visual in Harff's experience of pilgrimage is perhaps most evident in the numerous illustrations of his narrative.[133] Just as his adventure in the Dome of the Rock separated the underlying invisible reality of

[131] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 179.

[132] John Fearon, ed., tran., *St Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologiae, 25: Sin: 1a2æ. 71–80*, Summa Theologiae (London, 1969), 5 (Question 71); Simon Tugwell, 'The Sin of Pride', *New Blackfriars*, 66/775 (1985), 6.

[133] The set of images transmitted with Harff's text were an integral and consistent part of

his Christian intention from the deceptive appearance of his Mamluk disguise, but also brought the two together as a legitimate extension of pilgrimage into a non-Christian space, so the illustrations to his narrative show that secular knowledge and religious meaning are distinct but can be brought together in the unifying experience of a pilgrimage that provides for both, albeit at different times. He is selective about which locations he chooses to have illustrated, and tends to illustrate not places or buildings, but what they contain. The images of the contemporary world feature secular curiosities: animals and people (see Plate 2).[134] But when illustrating pilgrimage sites themselves, Harff provides no images of the *contemporary* holy places. His interest is in illustrating what these places contain, and so he chooses to re-present the single moment that gives them meaning. The place or building can be described in words, but Harff's experience as a devout pilgrim, meditating on and, indeed, experiencing, that single moment, is more succinctly encapsulated in an illustration. The images with a devotional purpose feature Harff praying in front of religious scenes at which he is literally present: kneeling before the Magi to represent Cologne; before St Peter for Rome; praying at Calvary[135] (see Plate 3).[136] He is thus represented visually as leaving the contemporary physical world, and entering the conceptual space of pilgrimage, and his readers are invited to join him there in prayer. In the case of certain holy sites, it would seem, the contemporary experience cannot be trusted, whether visual or textual. Their truth is conveyed instead by Harff's making himself, and through him, his audience, present to the location's place in salvation history.[137] This use of images for particular sacred sites on the journey, accompanied by purely conventional description of the holy places in Jerusalem (as designated by the Franciscans), suggests that Harff does see an aspect of pilgrimage in which curiosity does not belong. Where the pilgrimage journey as a whole is concerned, however, there is space for both secular curiosity and for religious curiosity – indeed, at times there is a need for them.[138]

---

it. Analysis here is based on the images as they appear in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 972 (1554).

134 'off dem heyssen sande lijgen gar groisse wasser slangen … heysschen kalkatricie ader kocodrullen': von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 81. 'Kocodrullen' is clearly 'crocodile'; Letts suggests 'cockatrice' for 'kalkatricie': Malcolm Letts, ed., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (London, 1946), 97.

135 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 5, 14, 168.

136 'Item voert gyngen wir an den tempel vnsers heren Jhesu': von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 168.

137 For further discussion of the implications of the images in Harff's account, see Mary Boyle and Annette Volfing, '"Imaginatio", Anachronismus und Heilsgeschichte', in *Geschichte Erzählen*, ed. Sarah Bowden, Stephen Mossman, and Michael Stolz (Tübingen, 2019), 138–39.

138 Breydenbach's text, the only other to make frequent use of illustrations, includes two images from the Church of the Holy Sepulchre: one of the outside of the church, and

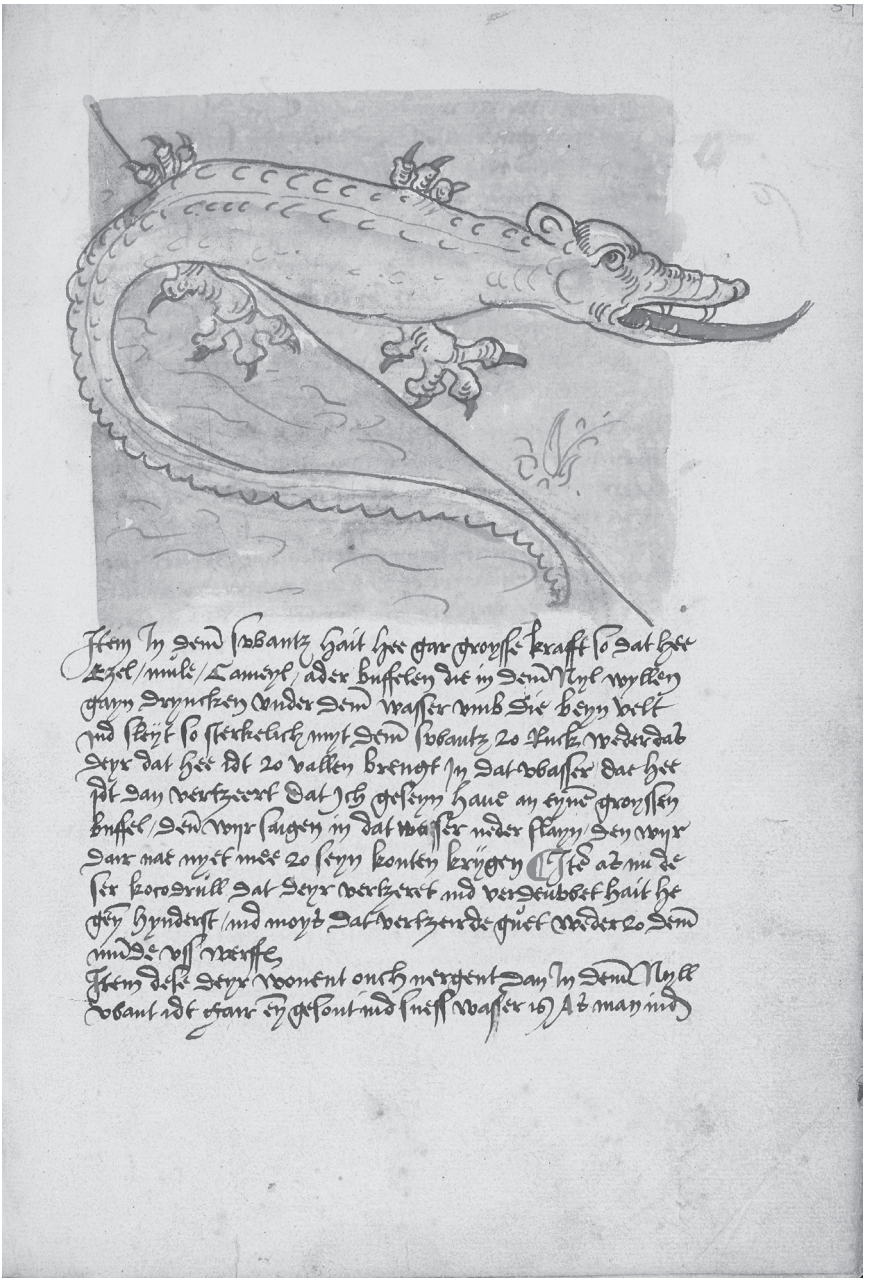


Plate 2. 'On the hot sand there lie enormous water snakes … called *kalkatricie* or *kocodrullen*' (The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS Bodl. 972 (1554), fol. 59r)

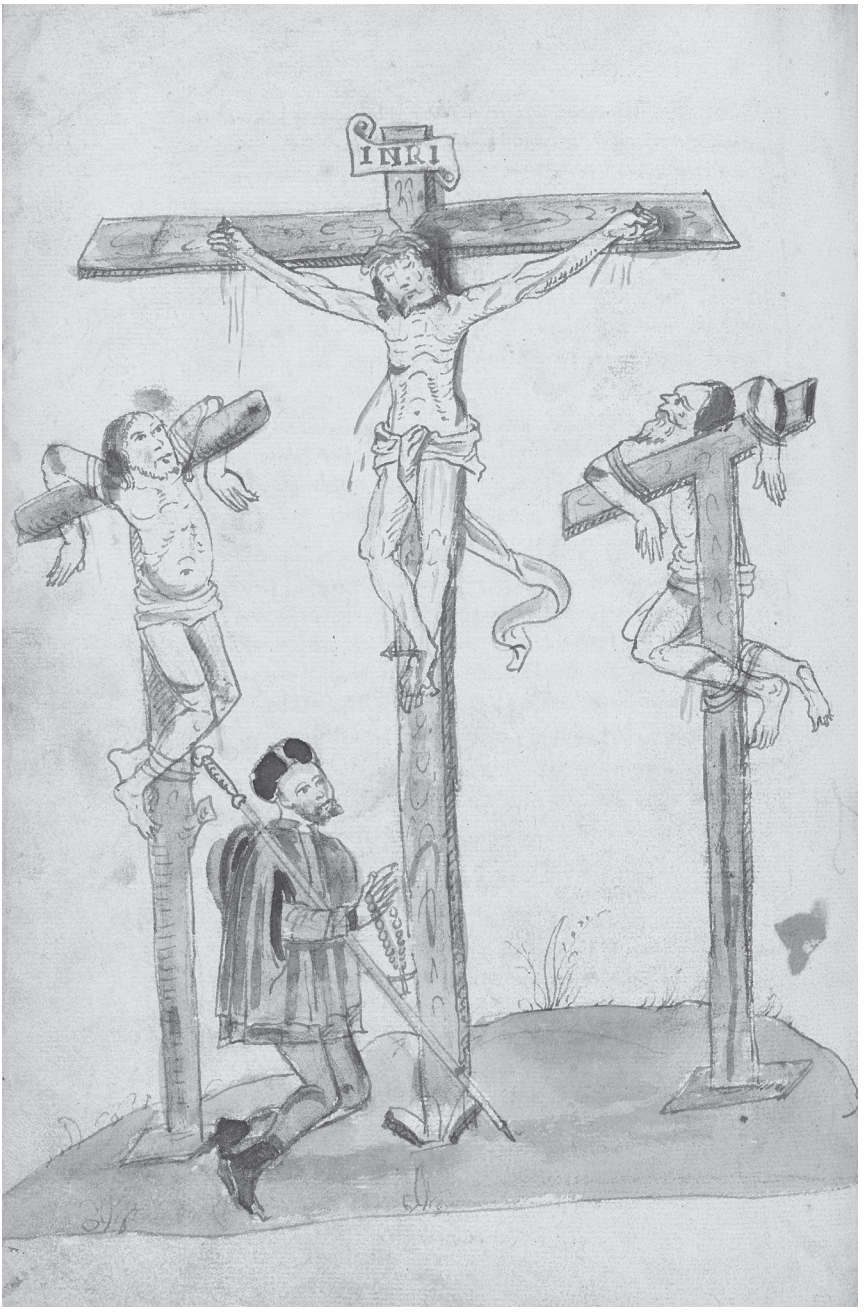


Plate 3. 'We went onwards to the temple of our Lord Jesus'
(The Bodleian Libraries, The University of Oxford, MS Bodl. 972 (1554), fol. 111v)

Harff does not conceal his religious curiosity or the morally questionable steps he takes in order to indulge it. He desires to visit as many sites with a sacred association as he can and, in order to gain access, all tactics are fair game. He appears fairly unconcerned about his audience's perception of his religiosity, although his apparently honest description of events suggests that he expected little censure for his actions. He uses the methods available to him in order to visit religious sites that would otherwise be inaccessible: bribes and disguises. These are the same methods used earlier to indulge his secular curiosity. Once he is within the sacred spaces, though, religious curiosity is excluded: at the established holy sites, salvation history trumps curiosity.

Textual Experience and Curiosity

In the physical space, Harff employs visual dishonesty to indulge visual curiosity, but in a textual space such a device is not necessary. Textual culture allows for the wide transmission of knowledge and information without direct experience of its source. Those accounts written specifically for virtual pilgrims take this principle to the extreme – as Henrike Lähnemann explains, their function is to provide strategies of visualisation, and to place scenes before the spiritual eye.[139] To illustrate this point, she quotes Erhard Groß's *Witwenbuch*, a fifteenth-century instructional text purporting to be a dialogue between a Carthusian and a widow: 'Ich hab nicht gesehen mit leiplichen augen, do ich itzunt von schreib' [I have not seen with bodily eyes what I now write about].[140] The spiritual eye, though, cannot satisfy earthly curiosity and, in contrast to Larke's open acceptance of seeing by writing, Harff chooses not to rely openly on written authority when conveying information about journeys in the East to his audience.

As we saw earlier, the courtly protagonist in a romance must actively seek new experiences in the wider world, and here, in the textual space of his narrative, the knight, Arnold von Harff, casts himself in this role. Between visiting Sinai and arriving in Jerusalem, he recounts various travels in Africa and the East. These travels are far-fetched enough to have led to discussion over the veracity of his entire account, but it is clear that Harff's involvement in certain episodes must have been entirely invented.[141] His heavy reliance

---

one of the outside of the sepulchre itself. These both present an external perspective and thus also suggest a certain reluctance to represent visually the conceptual space of pilgrimage as a contemporary reality.

139 Henrike Lähnemann, 'Eine imaginäre Reise nach Jerusalem: Der "Geographische Traktat" des Erhart Groß', in *Sehen und Sichtbarkeit in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters: XXI. Anglo-German Colloquium London 2009*, ed. Ricarda Bauschke, Sebastian Coxon, and Martin H. Jones (Berlin, 2011), 408.

140 Lähnemann, 'Geographische Traktat', 413.

141 Letts, *Arnold von Harff*, xv–xvi.

on other authors' descriptions of the East does not, however, necessarily indicate that he intended wholly to mislead his audience – the wonders he was describing were precisely what he and his audience believed and expected were to be found there. As Antonio García Espada puts it, 'the legendary Asia reported by medieval writers [was] anything but controversial. On the contrary, [it was] the confirmation, or the celebration, of elitist knowledge.'[142] In other words, Harff is providing what he understands to be accurate information about what is to be found in the East, and he uses his textual experience to assuage both his own curiosity and that of his audience.[143] He uses well-known contemporary reports to enlighten his readership, although without acknowledgement, and without admitting his lack of personal involvement. Repetition is a means of confirming truth. This is consistent with the standard pilgrim practice of using other people's words to describe places actually visited in the course of the pilgrimage in order to present a unified experience. By maintaining his first-hand account even in the midst of accessing this textual experience and misrepresenting the visual, Harff asserts the primacy and reliability of the visual experience as a means to satisfy curiosity.

Although Harff's experience of these places is textual, rather than direct, to dismiss his reporting as simply inauthentic is misguided. Modern standards of authenticity cannot be applied to late-medieval writing for, as Gerhard Wolf argues, 'a consciously demarcated genre of "authentic travel report", set in opposition to the fictional epic, did not exist in the late Middle Ages'.[144] Personal travel accounts are necessarily subjective, and those events that pique the author's interest, or are expected to pique the audience's interest (curiosities, in a word), will naturally be given positions of precedence in the narrative. Personal narratives – even modern ones – cannot be truly objective. Both modern and medieval personal narratives can, though, be the authentic account of their writers' experiences. As Yaniv Belhassen and his co-authors put it, 'the term authenticity has undergone a series of conceptual shifts from being viewed as objective and concrete to being envisioned in a more subjective and abstract way'.[145] In the period to which these texts

[142] García Espada, 'Role of the Vernacular', 203.

[143] Harff seems unconcerned by the fact that by the time he was writing there was clearly conflicting information available about the world beyond Europe and, unlike writers such as the Venetian Giovanni da Fontana, he takes no steps to reconcile the distinction 'between past and present cosmological ideas and modes of spatial representation': Marianne O'Doherty, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout, 2013), 286; Giovanni da Fontana, *Liber de omnibus rebus quae continentur in mundo* (Venice, 1544).

[144] 'Eine bewußt gegenüber den fiktionalen Epen abgegrenzte Gattung "authentischer Reisebericht" gibt es … im Spätmittelalter nicht' Gerhard Wolf, 'Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters', in *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 82.

[145] Yaniv Belhassen, Kellee Caton, and William P. Stewart, 'The Search for Authenticity in

belong, an authentic pilgrimage must correspond with the textual reports of other pilgrims' visits to the holy places, and authentic travels in the East must include the marvels to be found there. The realities of late-medieval Jerusalem or the Levant do not have to intersect with the conceptual spaces of either pilgrimage or the East.

It is, nonetheless, difficult to apply the word 'authentic' to Arnold von Harff's account in either a subjective or an objective sense, beyond the general statement that this is probably an account of lands and peoples that Harff authentically believes to exist. All four of our pilgrims rely on the words of other travellers, but Harff is the only writer always to present himself as an eyewitness. This is symptomatic of a man who believes what people have seen, but not what he is told without visual assurance. His response to duplicate relics, for example, is usually a variation on 'die irronge der paffen layss ich got scheyden' [I leave the errors of priests up to God to decide].[146] In contrast to Wey's approach, seeking to harmonise conflicting accounts given by religious authorities, Harff flags the possibility of error. Where possible, he seeks to present the truth to his readers. For his own further travels, he takes eyewitness accounts, and simply changes the identity of the eyewitness. It must appear to his audience that he has experienced these places for them, and that his experiences there correspond to those of other travellers.

Malcolm Letts has researched Harff's sources extensively, concluding that he was particularly reliant on Ptolemy, Marco Polo, and Odoric, as well as Mandeville, and it is in the section on Harff's supposed further travels that this dependence is particularly clear.[147] As the works of fellow travellers, Harff takes these various descriptions at face value, and yet by incorporating them into his account he demonstrates the unreliability of other people's words, and the impossibility of extrapolating other people's intentions. These three accounts were widely translated, and available in German,[148] and could thus have been easily accessible to Harff, who is not alone in his acceptance of the words of self-proclaimed eyewitnesses. We can expect Harff to feel a particular affinity with Mandeville, a fellow pilgrim knight, claiming travels far beyond the pilgrimage space. What is true of Mandeville is true of Harff: when the 'sources of authority [for Mandeville's *Book*] collided, Mandeville opted for

---

the Pilgrim Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35/3 (2008), 668.

146 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 56.

147 Letts, *Arnold von Harff*, xvi, xxvi–xxviii.

148 Horst von Tscharner, ed., *Der Mitteldeutsche Marco Polo*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 60 (Berlin, 1935); Morrall, *Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*; Klaus Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen': Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen* (Munich, 1991); Gilbert Strasmann, ed., *Konrad Steckels deutscher Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 20 (Berlin, 1968).

the testimony of the alleged eye-witnesses'.[149] Ultimately, the appearance of personal experience is of paramount importance to Harff too. He is torn between the expectations of his audience, familiar with reports of oriental travel, and the practicalities of the journey, but he is not prepared to make concessions to either. Unable to assuage his own curiosity by undertaking this journey, he can at least attempt to assuage that of his audience.

This textual solution to curiosity often takes a more secular form, although Harff is always keen to note religious practices. In a sense, this is Harff at his least curious, fulfilling audience expectations, rather than discovering anything new, either visually or textually. He does not precisely follow Mandeville, selecting only a few episodes. His use of the *Book* as a source is particularly clear during the eastern travel section, for example in the description of people whose houses are made of snails' shells: 'in desem wege funden wir gar vil huyser van slecken huyser gemaicht' [here we found many houses made from snail shells],[150] while Michel Velser's fourteenth-century translation of Mandeville states: 'In der ynsel fint man als gros schnecken húßer das ain mensch wol leg dar inne' [In this island one finds big snail shells in which a man can easily lie].[151] A particularly clear use of Mandeville is in Harff's description of the island of people with dogs' heads, in which an extended section is reused.[152] This episode is essentially a translation of Mandeville, whom Harff clearly regards as a reliable source for an episode that piques his curiosity and that he presumably thinks will do the same for his audience.[153] The same details are found in both accounts: Harff writes that 'yere heuffder hauen gesteltenyss nae eynem hunde ind heysschen cenefalles' [their heads have the appearance of dogs, and they are called cenefalles], while in Mandeville, we read that the inhabitants 'hond alle hundes höpter, und sie haissent sich dört Canafales' [all have dogs' heads and there they are called Canafales]. Both report that these people are 'van guder kallonge ind guden

[149] García Espada, 'Role of the Vernacular', 208.

[150] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 143.

[151] Morrall, *Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, 118.

[152] Morrall, *Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, 121; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 144–45. While reports of cynocephali were widespread and had circulated in the ancient world, it is clear from textual comparison that Harff's source here is Mandeville.

[153] Comparisons between sections of Harff's account and Michel Velser's German translation of the *Mandeville's Travels* (according to Morrall's edition) suggest that Harff may have used this particular version as the basis for certain parts of his journey. Although Mandeville's description is similar to Odoric of Pordenone (Strasmann, *Konrad Steckel*, 72–75), Harff leaves out Odoric's assertion that these people practise cannibalism, but writes that they are intelligent (Mandeville). It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that his primary source for this episode was Mandeville. The names, however, are on the whole not from Mandeville, Odoric, or Marco Polo. Although Marco Polo (von Tscharner, *Marco Polo*, 57–58.) also mentions dog-headed people, they are of a different culture.

verstentenyss' [of good speech and good intellect] (Harff), or 'beschaiden volck und wol verstandes' [modest people and of good intellect] (Mandeville). Characteristically, religious practice is important, and this represents Harff's only deviation from Mandeville, who writes that these people 'bettent ainen ochsen als iren gott' [pray to an ox for their god], whereas Harff explains that 'sij anbeden eynen oessen in ere goetz der it geschaffen hat' [they worship an ox in honour of God who made it]. Perhaps, by reinterpreting this people's beliefs, Harff is hoping to save them – or at least to redeem them in the eyes of his audience. This is symptomatic of the performative nature of pilgrimage writing, even though at this point Harff is far from the pilgrimage route. A religious element thus appears, although the curiosity expressed is clearly secular. If Harff can represent his reading as direct personal experience, he can also use the written word to alter other facts in the minds of his readers – and, in this section of the account, audience perception is paramount, for the curiosity in question is primarily theirs.

Harff's motivation for his supposed expedition to the source of the Nile is consciously separate from his secular interest in the appearance and cultures of different peoples. The language of novelty and discovery is invoked and, as at the Dome of the Rock, there is a religious motive behind his curiosity: 'so wolden wir suechen ind erfaren, wae der Nijlus sijnen oirspronck hette, as man dan in vnsen landen sait, wie der Nijlus kome vss deme paradijse gelouffen' [We wanted to seek and experience where the Nile has its source, as it is said in our lands that the Nile flows out of Paradise].[154] Harff identifies the mountains near the Nile's source as 'die berge des maens' [the Mountains of the Moon], claiming that 'dese berge stegen wir off iij dage lanck' [We climbed these mountains for three days].[155] In contrast to Harff's detailed description of the hardships he endured on the way to Sinai,[156] the episode lacks detail; indeed at no point is there any sense of danger. The claims in this section must seem ludicrous to a modern reader, familiar with late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century exploration of East Africa, and the episode's lack of detail might seem to suggest that Harff expects a level of disbelief even from his contemporary audience. There is no equivalent episode in his normal travel sources, and Letts suggests that 'having been deprived of Odoric and Marco Polo, he took his names from a map'.[157] Harff relies on the evidence available to him and when he is unable to discover detailed information, either by research or personal experience, he does not seek to create an aura of authenticity by inserting invented detail. This suggests that his intention was to convey to his audience what he believed to be truthful information. As Letts suggests, the primary purpose of this section is 'to introduce a discussion on the situation

[154] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 148.
[155] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 149.
[156] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 118–19.
[157] Letts, *Arnold von Harff*, 175, n. 2.

of Paradise'.[158] Whether prompted by his own curiosity, or that of his audience, Harff, albeit textually, deviates from the pilgrimage route, but here he uses the deviation to suggest an attempt to visit a place almost as holy as those to be found in Jerusalem. As he explains, he has enquired 'an allerley nacionen van cristen … wae dat paradijs zo finden were' [of all kinds of nations of Christians … where this Paradise was to be found].[159] This is not so different from the virtual pilgrim in her cloister following the assurances of those who know by experience the location of Jerusalem, and imagining herself to be there on a pilgrimage. In a sense, Harff weaves his own virtual pilgrimage into the account of his physical pilgrimage.

Harff, faced with the expectations of his audience, reports what he presumably expects they want to hear. He is not, however, a man who likes to be deceived. Whenever possible, he attempts to enter forbidden places rather than relying on the words of others. His aversion to dubious relics recurs often. Upon seeing crocodiles while journeying down the Nile, he realises that their hides are sold as dragon skins by merchants in western lands, and understands that he has been deceived – and deceived visually:

> as mich zo Rome gewijst wart in der kirchen ad Mariam de portecu eyne groisse huyt eynes kokodrulli in ijseren ketten hangen ind saichten mir, idt were eyn huyt van eyme lyntworme, des ich doe geloecht, bys dat ich it geloegen vant[160]
>
> [as when the great skin of a crocodile in iron chains was shown to me in Rome in the church of St Maria in Portico and they told me that it was the skin of a dragon, which I believed until I found out that it was a lie]

At Santiago de Compostela, near the end of his pilgrimage, he refuses to take the assurances of others at face value, and demands visual proof. From the response of the guardians of the shrine, Harff is able to extrapolate what he wishes to know:

> ich begeert mit groisser schenkonge dat man mir dat heylige corper tzoenen weulde. mir waert geantwort, soe wer nyet gentzlich geleufft, dat der heylige corper sent Jacobs des meirre apostel in deme hoigen altaer leege ind dae an tzwyuelt ind dat corper dan sien wurde, van stunt an moiste er vnsynnich werden wie eyn raesen hunt. dae mit hat ich der meynonghe genoich[161]
>
> [I desired, with great gifts, that they would show me the holy body. They answered me that whoever did not believe that the holy body of the Apostle St James the Great lay in the high altar, and doubted, and wanted to see the body, would immediately become as mad as a rabid dog. Thus I understood what they meant]

[158] Letts, *Arnold von Harff*, xxvii.
[159] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 150.
[160] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 82–83.
[161] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 233.

His description of travels in which he did not literally engage puts him in the odd position of being a man who does not like to be misled and yet who misleads his audience. He therefore applies a degree of criticism to his sources. As he has not himself visited these places, however, his criticism must be limited, and he can only safely criticise based upon his own experiences. Having encountered counterfeit relics, it is unsurprising that it is an anecdote about a relic which he feels qualified to discredit, and he applies a critical approach that he does not generally apply to his written sources. After describing the relic of St Thomas at Calamie,[162] Harff adds: 'dat sij [the relic] selffs die lude communicieren sulde is neyt waer' [that it dispenses Communion itself is not true].[163] It is particularly striking that it is in the case of Thomas, who had to see to believe, that Harff feels qualified to correct something that he has not seen, but about which he believes that he knows the truth. In the midst of dishonesty, Harff desires authenticity, and is still curious about the truth – particularly religious truth.

Becoming Humanist

Justin Stagl attempts to draw a dividing line between medieval pilgrims and sixteenth-century humanist travellers:

> secular travels had been dealt with by the genre *navigatio* which also comprised geography and trade, whereas religious travels were described in pilgrims' reports, a branch of theological literature which attempted to authenticate the history of salvation through the experiences of present-day pilgrims. A third genre was formed by fabulous travel reports which were mainly intended to entertain. There had been little effort to integrate all this into a coherent body of knowledge.[164]

The example of Arnold von Harff sheds a different light on this conclusion – rather than a dividing line, perhaps an interim stage on the road towards sixteenth-century humanism. Not innovation, but not wholly humanist. Elements of all three of Stagl's categories can be clearly seen in Harff's account and, though he shows no sense that he is attempting anything groundbreaking, his curiosity is more comprehensive than that of our other three pilgrims, and fundamentally different from theirs. Although Wey, Breydenbach, and Larke express the desire to know and learn to varying degrees, Harff's expression of the desire seems in comparison to reflect what we now understand as humanism. There appears to be something of a cultural difference here. Wey's and Larke's accounts are far more thoroughly religious in their interests. Wey's

[162] The name tallies both with the modern Kollam in Kerala and with Mandeville's Callamyon: Morrall, *Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung*, 109.

[163] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 141.

[164] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 49–50.

desire to know and learn, unlike Larke's, is overt, but both are ultimately uninterested in the secular world. Breydenbach does move into a more secular curiosity, but cautiously. Harff, though, is unhesitating in his interest in all that surrounds him, whether visual or written, sacred or secular.

Arnold von Harff concludes his report with his own analysis of who he is, a 'pylgrum weech wijser ind dichter' [pilgrim, guide, and author].[165] These three words, which we have looked at already, are carefully chosen, and their order is significant. Although his reasons for travelling are undoubtedly complex, Harff wants to be remembered first as a pilgrim. The words 'weech wijser' are buried in the middle. He explains at the beginning that this 'boich' [book] is a gift for his patrons in case they wish to emulate the pilgrimage,[166] and he acknowledges this purpose again as he closes – but it is not his main aim. The word 'dichter' is chosen for the final, key place. It is the word that lingers, and its associations are deliberately literary. Arnold von Harff is not simply the compiler of an itinerary, but the composer of a piece of literature – and curiosity, whether the quality or the so-called fault, sits easily within the canon of pilgrimage literature.

Nonetheless, it is important, particularly in the light of Wolf's concern that late twentieth-century scholarship tended overly towards the 'secularisation of motives for travel',[167] to note that, while Harff's approach to curiosity is part of a sea change from earlier debates on its sinfulness, he is not consciously attempting something new, nor does his religiosity appear insincere. Curiosity's existence and place in his writing is so apparent that he does not need to discuss it, and the concept of curiosity as a fault seems entirely alien to him. Harff is not therefore the originator of a new view of curiosity but part of a wider movement. He does not expect criticism for his desire to investigate, nor does he see any conflict between his curiosity and his religious purpose. Certainly he takes the opportunity of being absent from his homeland and ordinary life to explore the world, and he indulges in curiosity and relates his experiences in a way that would, according to most theological understandings of curiosity, be sinful, but he is not one of those who, in Stagl's words, use pilgrimage 'as a mere pretext for other things'.[168] Indeed, at the heart of the pilgrimage, visiting the Franciscan-controlled holy places, curiosity is off limits. Although Harff's focus may often seem to shift from the pilgrimage itself, sections focusing on secular curiosity cannot usually be entirely separated from considerations of his own religion, and he refers to the book as containing 'dese pylgrammacien' [these pilgrimages].[169] Any other label would seem inadequate.

[165] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 260.
[166] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.
[167] 'Verweltlichung der Reisemotive': Wolf, 'Deutschsprachige Reiseberichte', 85.
[168] Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, 47.
[169] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

Ultimately, Arnold von Harff's account illustrates curiosity in all of its forms. As the only lay pilgrim considered here – and as a knight – the persona of Harff remains largely secular (but Christian), although his journey is expressed through a practice in which other values apply. He vocally identifies himself first as a pilgrim, but his secular, knightly values remain of key importance to him. He is keen to have adventures, and to gather all the knowledge available to him, and he sees no moral difficulty in expending time and effort in order to learn and disseminate information that is not directly connected to salvation – but his curiosity is in no way exclusively of a type that could be viewed unfavourably from a theological point of view. It seems that all knowledge is part of the same web in his mind. He is as keen to discover the truth about relics as about the 'heyden' [heathen]; as interested in the attributes of women in different cities as he is in the holy sites and obtaining 'aeblas' [indulgences].[170] Only one part of his pilgrimage, the holiest sites themselves, remains excluded from his almost all-encompassing inquisitiveness. He has not gone all the way, but in his curiosity, Arnold von Harff reaches out towards humanism.

[170] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 233, 97, 217–18; 161.

4

Writing the Holy Land in the Age of Print: Thomas Larke and Bernhard von Breydenbach

At the time our four pilgrims were travelling and writing, the new technology of print was spreading across Europe, altering the ways in which people wrote, read, and thought about books. Genre, the religious other, and curiosity are conceptual issues that have different implications for each text, but the development of print is a concrete and external technological change, and some pilgrim writers quickly took advantage of it. It therefore exerted a substantial influence on written representations of the Holy Land. Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* and the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, as printed works with a shared history, clearly illustrate some of its effects. That Thomas Larke translated and included various descriptive sections of Breydenbach's text when composing a description of his own pilgrimage provides the opportunity to consider directly the shared religious experience of a German and an Englishman. This textual relationship was only possible because print enabled the wide transmission of Breydenbach's Latin text.[1] These texts, then, as a result of their publication, contrast with the accounts of Arnold von Harff and William Wey, which existed only in manuscript form. Harff's text was affected by the availability of printed books, although it was not itself printed until the modern period. It therefore draws upon printed representations of the Holy Land, without directly contributing to print culture. The *Itineraries of William Wey*, meanwhile, was written shortly before print made an impact in England, and can therefore be largely – although not entirely – excluded from our discussion. But the German Breydenbach's Latin printed text and the Englishman Thomas Larke's vernacular narrative, itself ultimately printed, are part of a larger, international community of printed pilgrimage texts, whose authors clearly made use of their printed predecessors. The relationships between these texts are crucial to understanding the influence of print culture on the written

[1] Breydenbach's Latin text is here more relevant than the German, as this is the version that would have reached Larke.

representation of the Holy Land, both in terms of its construction by pilgrim writers, and its reception by a much-broadened audience. These were not mutually exclusive groups. Print culture enabled audience to become writer and writer to become audience more quickly, and in possession of more (and more recent) information, than in the past. But this did not lead to a diversification of description of the Holy Land – quite the reverse. Analysis of Breydenbach's, and to a lesser extent Larke's, work demonstrates an effort to ensure conformity with what had gone before, and – crucially – to disseminate this conformity further. The development of print enabled both.

Printing Pilgrimage in Germany and England

Print was cutting-edge technology at the time of these journeys. Printing with moveable type, the major technological innovation of the fifteenth century, was pioneered in Mainz by Johannes Gutenberg, whose 42-line Latin Bible was printed in 1455. Despite the fact that the Bible itself sold out fairly quickly, printing was not an immediate commercial success. Gutenberg died bankrupt in 1468, 'defeated by the complexities of a market not yet adjusted to absorb many hundred copies of identical books'.[2] This did not deter other early adopters of the technology, and books continued to be printed in Latin and – to a lesser extent – in German. Although there are various estimates as to how many German vernacular books were printed in the fifteenth century, they are uniformly low, ranging from 5 and 7 per cent of printed books to less than 15 per cent.[3] Certainly the overwhelming majority of books printed in Germany before 1500 (and indeed until the late seventeenth century) were in Latin,[4] and devotional texts of various types formed the vast majority of printed works in the fifteenth century.[5] Indeed, devotional works, including in the vernacular, were key to the ultimate success of printing houses, with ten versions of the Bible in High German printed between 1466 and 1485 in German cities.[6] When Bernhard von Breydenbach first published his text in 1486, Mainz was no longer central to the new technology, which

2 Andrew Pettegree, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London, 2010), 21.

3 Tilo Brandis, 'Handschriften- und Buchproduktion im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert', in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart, 1984), 180; Stephan Füssel, 'Early Modern German Printing', in *Camden House History of German Literature, IV: Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2007), 229.

4 Brandis, 'Handschriften- und Buchproduktion', 180.

5 Andrew Colin Gow, 'The Bible in Germanic', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, II: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), 214.

6 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and Anton Hiersemann, 'Biblia', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 1968, 04295–04304 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BIBLIA.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019].

had developed quickly and many hubs had grown up across Europe. By the end of the century, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* had been printed in various languages across the continent.[7] In the German-speaking lands, Cologne was of particular importance to the development of printing,[8] while Augsburg was the real hub of vernacular book production, particularly with regard to German-language prose. It is, therefore, perhaps to be expected that the German version of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* was reissued by Anton Sorg, a key figure in Augsburg printing circles.[9]

The history of printing in England, while following a different pattern, is directly connected with Germany from its very beginning through the figure of William Caxton. Caxton learned to print in Cologne in 1471–72, and brought his new craft to England in 1476.[10] This makes England unique in the early history of printing, being the 'first country where printing was introduced by a native'.[11] This is somewhat fitting, given that:

> The character of book production in the British Isles had a strong national identity, long before the kingdoms became united. This was due to language, since there was a much higher percentage of vernacular texts, or texts with a specific English use … than was the average in other language areas.[12]

The percentage of vernacular texts printed in England before 1501 was as high as 59 per cent, in comparison to less than 30 per cent of books for other European vernaculars.[13] Because of the international reach of the Latin book trade, English printers, beginning with Caxton, concentrated on printing books that could not be imported – namely books in English, or Latin books with a specific English purpose.[14] The national character of English printing

7 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Breidenbach, Bernhard von', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BREIBER.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019].

8 Stephan Füssel, *Gutenberg und seine Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main and Leipzig, 1999), 40. Harff set out from near Cologne, and evidently had access to printed books, but his own work was not printed.

9 Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die fart oder reyß über mere zu dem heyligen grab* (Augsburg, 1488); Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '05078 Breidenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, deutsch. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 22.IV.1488. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BREIBER.htm#GW05078> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Füssel, 'Early Modern German Printing', 229.

10 Lotte Hellinga, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 65–67.

11 Tamara Atkin and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge, 2014), 27.

12 Hellinga, 'Printing', 68.

13 Atkin and Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', 28.

14 Hellinga, 'Printing', 67–68.

was in some ways superficial – the production of printed books was 'almost entirely dependent on materials, techniques and skills brought in from overseas'. Moreover, while the decision to print only books that exclusively appealed to an English audience partially represented a practical decision to import rather than to duplicate printing efforts, there may also have been a commercial motivation: English printing was generally regarded to be of a lower standard than continental printing until the seventeenth century, and there was therefore little point in attempting to compete.[15] Indeed, even several decades after Caxton opened his Westminster press, it was not necessarily desirable for an author to have their works printed in England. For example, although Erasmus was intermittently resident in England for almost seven years in the first two decades of the sixteenth century, he ensured that his works were printed in France, for 'however generously Erasmus praised the intellectual companionship of his English friends, he was too shrewd to consign any of his writings to an English press'.[16] After Caxton's death in 1492, whatever the output language, printing was dominated by his successor Wynkyn de Worde, who was Dutch, and the King's Printer Richard Pynson, originally from Normandy.[17] It was Pynson who printed the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* in 1511.

But who read these texts, once they had been printed? And what might it mean to 'read' them? The increasing availability of books after the advent of print marked a significant change from a society in which even the literate rarely had access to manuscripts.[18] But literacy itself is a complex concept with regard to the Middle Ages, whatever the location, and whatever the vernacular. Books are aural and visual objects, as well as containing the written word. Access to their contents is therefore possible via reading or listening,[19] not to mention through the kind of access provided by illustrations, or even by looking at the writing without understanding its meaning. When assessing the potential audience for early publications like Breydenbach's and Larke's, it is therefore less helpful to draw a binary distinction between literate and illiterate than to understand literacy as a flexible construct. Some generalisations are helpful, in order to create an impression of the possible demographic towards which our pilgrim writers might have directed themselves. To turn

15 Hellinga, 'Printing', 68.

16 Pettegree, *Book in the Renaissance*, 83.

17 A concise history of the early decades of print and the century preceding them, along with a detailed discussion of Pynson's career is provided in Peter W. M. Blayney, *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge, 2013).

18 Mark Chinca and Christopher Young, 'Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: A Conjunction and its Consequences', in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and its Consequences in Honour of D. H. Green*, ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 12 (Turnhout, 2005), 7.

19 Chinca and Young, 'Orality and Literacy', 4.

first to the (broadly) German-speaking lands, it has been estimated that before 1500, 2 to 4 per cent of the population of the Holy Roman Empire was literate.[20] These kinds of figures, however, can only be speculative, since they tend to be based on the number of schools in a particular location. Schools were concentrated in urban areas, and the same is therefore likely to be true for rates of literacy. Amongst those members of German society who were fully literate, Latin literacy seems to have been the norm – indeed only around 10 per cent of readers in late fifteenth-century Germany were literate purely in German.[21] Literacy appears to have begun to increase in Germany around half a century before the printing press made its appearance – in particular, there was a generational shift in the ability to write amongst patrician women at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[22] By the end of that century a growing expectation of literacy was expressed within the text of books, with a – perhaps corresponding – decrease in the number of woodcuts that tended to appear.[23]

Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, vernacular literacy in England also rose, as in many comparable European countries.[24] Printing in the vernacular both responded to the rise in lay literacy and participated in this important social change – the availability of imported Latin printed books notwithstanding. As in Germany, however, the rise in literacy evidently did not begin with the arrival of print culture in England, and, as Michael Clanchy cautions, it is not logical to assume that the number of literate members of society rose in proportion to the greater amount of printed material generated by the printing press, just as reading material in the modern world does not directly relate to literacy rates.[25]

These estimates consider literacy on an individual basis, but it is likely that every community, in Germany and in England, contained a small number of inhabitants able both to read and to write, vastly increasing access to the textual content of books.[26] Indeed, literacy can helpfully be considered as

20 Alisha Rankin, 'Germany', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford, 2011), 208.

21 Rankin, 'Germany', 207–08.

22 Andrea Kammeier-Nebel, 'Frauenbildung im Kaufmannsmilieu spätmittelalterlicher Städte', in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz (Frankfurt, 1996), I, 78.

23 Rolf Engelsing, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1973), 23–24.

24 David N. Bell, 'Monastic Libraries: 1400–1557', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 232.

25 M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 3rd edn. (Chichester, 2013), 12.

26 R. W. Scribner, *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001), 236–38; Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London, 2001), 240.

a communal skill; the idea that it is a personal ability is based on a modern understanding of society 'that places an emphasis on people as individuals'.[27] This collective literacy had a place within the domestic and public spheres, and could be for the purposes of both instruction and leisure. It ranged from reading aloud to a household for entertainment or religious instruction, to presenting secular, practical texts for information within what has been identified as 'a formal "business" setting'.[28] There is, moreover, no sense of shame attached to reliance on collective, rather than personal, literacy, whether in a fictional (Chaucer's Wife of Bath) or supposedly autobiographical (Margery Kempe) context.[29] Collective literacy thus provides a broad audience for the written word, and allows for the possibility that published books – including those of our pilgrims – could reach multiple levels of society. In other words, the use of books was not confined to their owners, nor to the individually literate. Given this inherently social aspect to reading, while wider availability of books would not in itself trigger higher levels of personal literacy, print did increase the volume of text available and decrease the price of books, and this may have enabled an improvement in literacy skills through practice. Most importantly, collective literacy and print together potentially made more knowledge available to more people.

We must also consider the kind of access to content provided by the book as a visual object – particularly given the great increase in the availability of books. This approach had currency at the time: Sebastian Brant, in his preface to the *Narrenschiff*, seems to understand three types of possible reader: those who were Latin-literate, those who could read only German, and those who simply read the woodcuts. In a context that allows for those who could read only woodcuts, it is entirely logical to say that an illustrated book was therefore a book for the laity.[30] It does not follow, however, that a book like the *Narrenschiff* was intended exclusively for lay people. A Latin version of the work followed three years later, under Brant's supervision, but even in the original German edition, Brant catered for all three groups: the text is written in the vernacular, and accompanied by woodcuts, but these images are associated with the academic Latin-literate tradition.[31] Even the woodcuts themselves, therefore, have more than one audience, and could be appreciated

[27] Orme characterises English society as 'collectively literate by the thirteenth century'. Orme, *Medieval Children*, 240.

[28] Orme, *Medieval Children*, 274–75; Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 26 (Cambridge, 1996), 89.

[29] Coleman, *Public Reading*, 85.

[30] Engelsing, *Analphabetentum*, 23. Engelsing refers to Brant's *vorred*, 26–28: 'Wer yeman der die gschrifft veracht/ Oder villicht die nit künd lesen/ Der siecht jm molen wol syn wesen' ['If anyone disdains the text, or perhaps cannot read it, he may see his likeness in pictures']: Friedrich Zarncke, *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* (Leipzig, 1854).

[31] 'gelehrt-lateinischer Tradition': Nikolaus Henkel, 'Wertevermittlung und Wissen in

from a non-literate or a highly educated perspective – or anything in between. The *Narrenschiff* may well have been following in the footsteps of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* as a work that appealed to the whole spectrum of literacy levels. And while Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* has a carefully designed range of illustrations, Pynson did not wholly ignore those who could only read woodcuts, but included an image at the start of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde*. The combination, then, of increasing levels of individual literacy, communal literacy, and those who could access some meaning through woodcuts, along with the ability of the printing press to churn out multiple copies of works, meant that our pilgrim writers had not only a growing potential audience, but also the technological possibility to reach more of them than ever before.

This growing potential audience certainly had an appetite for printed religious material and, though print became an agent of religious change, ecclesial reform was not inherent to the new technology: the institutional Church provided the foundation for the initial profitability of print shops, not least through the papal indulgence campaigns targeted by reformers, both Protestant and those, like Erasmus, who remained within the Church.[32] Since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw enthusiastic participation in lay devotion, it is unsurprising that a high proportion of early printed material was this way inclined. In 1454, two indulgences for taking up arms against the Turks in Cyprus were printed in Mainz, possibly by Gutenberg, along with an admonition against the Turks (not to mention the 42-line Bible).[33] An interest in pilgrimage arose later, with Hans Tucher's *Reise in das gelobte Land* (1482), although Johannes Schiltberger's *Reisebuch* had appeared in 1476, perhaps stimulating an interest in printed works on travel.[34] In England, the subject of pilgrimage, broadly speaking, was of interest to printers from the very beginning: Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* is the first book known to have been printed at Caxton's new Westminster Press in 1476, and it was printed twice by Caxton and Pynson, and once by de Worde.[35] Pynson often printed

---

der Hand des Gelehrten: Sebastian Brant und sein Werk', in *Text und Normativität im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Elke Brüggen and others (Berlin and Boston, 2012), 24.

32 Andrew Pettegree, 'Print and the Reformation: A Drama in Three Acts', *Church History*, 86/4 (2017), 981.

33 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Chappe, Paulinus', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/CHAPPAU.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Mahnung wider die Türken', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2007 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MAHNUNG.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019].

34 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Tucher, Hans', 2011 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/TUCHHAN.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Schiltberger, Hans', 2017 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/SCHIHAN.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019].

35 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '06585 Chaucer, Geoffrey: The Canterbury tales.

more overtly religious texts, including texts that touched on the theme of pilgrimage, whether they focused on the metaphorical, interior variety of pilgrimage represented by William Bond's *Pylgrimage of perfection*, which he printed in 1526, or the literal – in 1496, for example, he printed a verse on the house of the Virgin Mary at Walsingham, while in 1499 he printed a broadsheet in Latin detailing the indulgences available to pilgrims visiting Compostela.

More specifically, travel to the Holy Land was a frequent feature of European early printed books. Because of the sheer number of printed works, print culture brought the Holy Land home, even more (and certainly more quickly) than popular texts transmitted in manuscript could. The possibilities for reaching Jerusalem textually expanded with print. As we have seen, one of the most widely accessible representations of the Holy Land in the context of travel writing is that in Mandeville's *Book* and, in keeping with this popularity, it was a frequent choice for printers across Europe. It was Pynson who, around 1496, issued the first English edition.[36] Although the text describes many places beyond the Holy Land itself, it is there that the text begins, and the Holy Land is the focus of a substantial proportion of the text. By the time it was printed, Mandeville's image of the Holy Land had already influenced one hundred years of descriptions of Jerusalem, and its popularity was longstanding. Its two German translations (by Otto von Diemeringen and Michel Velser) had appeared by 1415, just one vernacular of the many in which Mandeville's *Book* appeared before print. Indeed, prior to its first printed editions, Mandeville had already been translated into various vernaculars and transmitted widely in manuscript. The first German-language prints, only pre-empted by a Dutch edition,[37] appeared almost simultaneously: Velser's translation was printed in Augsburg by Anton Sorg in 1480,[38] and an edition based on Otto von Diemeringen's translation was printed by Bernhard Richel in Basel either that year or the following.[39] Around this

[Westminster: William Caxton, um 1478]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2011 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/CHAUGEO.htm#GW06585> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Universal Short Title Catalogue, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey: The boke of Canterbury tales dilygently and truely corrected, and newly printed. London, Richard Pynson, 1526', *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, 2019 <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/501941> [accessed 17 April 2019].

36 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'M20422 Mandeville, Johannes de: Itinerarium, engl. [London]: Richard Pynson, [um 1496]. 4°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2015 <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MANDJOH.htm#M20422> [accessed 17 April 2019].

37 Anthony Bale, ed., *The Book of Marvels and Travels*, trans. Anthony Bale (Oxford, 2012), xvi.

38 Klaus Ridder, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen': Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen* (Munich, 1991), 134, n. 49.

39 Ridder, *Mandevilles 'Reisen'*, 134.

time, Italian printers also began to produce editions of Mandeville's *Book* and, although they attempted to privilege his descriptions of eastern marvels over those of the Holy Land, their customers understood and annotated the work as representing the Jerusalem pilgrimage, 'albeit increasingly moderated by other interests'.[40] Mandeville's influence on written depictions of the Holy Land cannot be understated, either before or after the rise of print. As we have seen, Arnold von Harff, Thomas Larke, and William Wey were all clearly influenced by him. The speed with which Mandeville was printed and reprinted demonstrates the text's already extant popularity, but also the new levels of ubiquity that it was able to achieve in print.

Mandeville's *Book* was far from the only example of travel writing with a long history to find its way into print. Ludolf von Sudheim's *De itinere ad terram sanctam*, the account of his journey between 1336 and 1341, was published in several editions in the early decades of print: the first Latin version was printed in Strasbourg between 1475 and 1480 by Heinrich Eggestein and in Gouda by Gerard Leeu in 1484, and three competing editions of the southern German version were printed in Augsburg in 1477 by Ludwig Hohenwang, Anton Sorg, and Günther Zainer, a clear sign of the text's popularity with an urban lay readership.[41] These examples are only illustrative; many more pilgrim texts were published across Europe including, for example, the *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae*, a 'small basic guide for travellers to the Holy Land',[42] which was first printed in Venice, apparently by Leonardus Wild, around 1479.[43] Venice was the point of departure for most European pilgrims, and the sales patterns of *Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae* suggest that it was bought in large numbers by pilgrimage groups about to depart.[44] It was printed several times in Venice and elsewhere – a printing in Angers by Johannes de La Tour in 1493 is also recorded, along with

40 Matthew Coneys, 'Real and Virtual Pilgrims and the Italian Version of the "Book of John Mandeville"', *Viator*, 49/1 (2018), 254.

41 Jacob Klingner, 'Ludolf von Sudheim', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, III: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin, 2012), cols 384–85. That year, Zainer and Sorg also produced competing German-language Bibles, further evidence of the popularity of vernacular devotional material in Augsburg at the time: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and Hiersemann, 'Biblia (Gesamtkatalog)'.

42 Cristina Dondi and Neil Harris, 'Oil and Green Ginger. The "Zornale" of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484–1488', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, Library of the Written Word, 31 (Leiden, 2013), 398.

43 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'M3089420 Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae. Venedig: [Leonhard Wild, um 1479]. 8°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M3089420.htm#M3089420_00_001> [accessed 17 April 2019].

44 Dondi and Harris, 'Oil and Green Ginger', 398.

an undated Paris edition.[45] There was clearly a broad scope for international transmission of representations of the Holy Land enabled by print.

Given the later beginnings of English printing, not to mention its London-centric and nationally focused character outlined above, it is perhaps unsurprising that, while writing on the subject of the Holy Land was frequently printed and reprinted in Germany, there is less printed material of English origin on the subject.[46] We cannot be sure, however, how much English printed material has been lost.[47] *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* itself survived only in a single copy (British Library, G6719), which escaped notice for some time.[48] According to a slip of paper attached to it, 'Neither Ames, Herbert, nor Dibdin, appear to have seen this extraordinary and most interesting volume'. Printed works on pilgrimage, of course, were not limited to travellers' accounts of their own physical journeys. The brief extract from *The Book of Margery Kempe* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1501, for example, makes reference only to virtual pilgrimage to Jerusalem:

> Doughters as offentymes as þu sayest or thynkest worshypped be all the holy places in Jherusalem where cryst suffre bytter payne and passyon in thou shalt haue haue [sic] the same pardon as yf þu were in thy bodely presence both to thy selfe and to al the þat thou wylt gyue to[49]

The complete version of the text, however, was only circulated in manuscript, and it describes Margery's own physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The printed edition's focus on virtual pilgrimage may well be concerned with accepted

45 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Peregrinationes', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/PEREGRI1.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019].

46 A further reason for the relative difference in quantity of printed material is simply that there is more pilgrimage writing originating in Germany than in any other part of Europe – Carla Meyer notes a 'clear "national" domination': Carla Meyer, 'New Methods and Old Records: Awareness and Perceptions of the Near East in Hans Tucher's Account of His Journey to the Holy Land and Egypt', *The Medieval History Journal*, 15/1 (2012), 27, n. 7.

47 Alan Coates outlines the types and quantities of books imported into England during the first decades of printing: Alan Coates, 'The Latin Trade in England and Abroad', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge, 2014), 45–58.

48 *This is the begynnynge and contynuaunce of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde Knyght and controuler vnto our late soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .vii. And howe he went with his seruauntes and company towardes Jherusalem.* (London, 1511).

49 ['Daughters, as often as you say or think, "Worshipped be all the holy places in Jerusalem wherein Christ suffered bitter pain and passion," you shall have the same pardon as if you were there physically, both for yourself and for all to whom you wish to give it'] Margery Kempe, *Here begynneth a shorte treatyse of contemplacyon taught by our lorde Jhesu cryste, or taken out of the boke of Margerie kempe of lyn[n]* (London, 1501), Early English Books Online <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:4992:4> [accessed 18 April 2019].

gender roles – the instruction is clearly gendered in its reference to 'doughters'. Nonetheless, the reference to Jerusalem in a pilgrimage context in such a short text highlights its appeal, and both here, and in accounts of literal pilgrimage, print continued to be a way of bringing Jerusalem to England. Moreover, English readers could and did access material on the subject of Jerusalem printed elsewhere. There was little point in replicating material already available, and printed works that transcended linguistic boundaries were imported from the continent. Printed Latin works, like Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, therefore had an influence across Europe – including in England. In other words, books about the Holy Land printed on the continent ultimately enabled some of the material on the Holy Land that was printed in England. And, while works already circulating in manuscript made their way into print, so works circulating in print simultaneously made their way back into manuscript – and both possibilities are demonstrated by the accounts of William Wey and Arnold von Harff.

On the Edge of Print Culture

While Wey's and Harff's texts were not printed until the modern period (1857 and 1860 respectively), they were not entirely untouched by early print culture. As a retired bursar, writing in a priory in Wiltshire around 1470, Wey almost certainly would not have had access to any printed materials. Although printed books may have been imported into England 'as early as … 1466', substantial imports of incunabula are recorded in the customs rolls only from the late 1470s.[50] Moreover, although Wey had a connection with Syon Abbey, it is unlikely that he would have had access to their print library, as the library only began to acquire its first printed books in the 1470s, and started a systematic replacement of manuscripts with printed books only under the stewardship of Thomas Betson, who arrived at Syon around 1481.[51] Wey's sources demonstrate rather that texts could still be transmitted widely in manuscript form, while pointing also to the type of person who could access a range of manuscript texts. But as far as print is concerned, William Wey's work – by virtue of his having lived in England, rather than in continental Europe – is really only of relevance for its possible connection to the anonymous *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land.*

This pilgrim guide is not linked to an individual, other than its printer, Wynkyn de Worde, who issued editions in 1498, 1515, and 1524.[52] Its repeated

[50] Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell, eds, *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558* (Cambridge, 2014), 3.

[51] Vincent Gillespie, 'Syon and the English Market for Continental Printed Books: The Incunable Phase', in *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400–1700*, ed. E. A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge, 2010), 109–11.

[52] E. Gordon Duff, ed., *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London, 1893), xvii.

printing speaks to its popularity. The text is short, running to only thirty pages in its first edition, and twenty in subsequent printings.[53] It contains currency lists; practical advice to travellers, including taxes due in the Holy Land (in Latin); and a standard description in the third person of a group pilgrimage to the Holy Land, including indulgences to be obtained. Once the description of the holy places commences, the pilgrim group drops out of the narrative in favour of a statement of all 'the pylgrymages wythin the cyte of Jerusalem'.[54] The text switches into Latin to describe pilgrimages in Nazareth, Damascus, Mount Sinai, and Egypt, as well as the return to England. There are then word lists (introduced in English) for 'the langage of Moreske' and Greek, and the names of Turkish numbers. The text concludes with the Stations of Rome in Latin. There are evidently similarities with William Wey's text, but their possible relationship is not entirely clear. While it is possible to overstate these similarities, certain passages of de Worde's *Information*, namely the advice to pilgrims with which the text begins, and its Greek word list, strongly resemble the corresponding parts of Wey's *Itineraries*.[55] It is, of course, possible that these texts share a single common source, but in the absence of any evidence of a further text with these characteristics, Wey's text has been viewed as the source of that printed by de Worde.[56] Moreover, the mixture of practical information and accounts of a particular pilgrimage, as well as the code-switching, are reminiscent of Wey's own far more complex text. Any conclusions reached about Wey's sources, as well as his place in the tradition of pilgrimage writing, are therefore likely also to apply to de Worde's *Information*.

Arnold von Harff, by contrast, operated in a world in which printing technology and the book trade were already well established. His pilgrimage writing clearly demonstrates the coexistence of manuscript and print culture in the late fifteenth century, and is a reminder that the circulation of texts in manuscript form continued long after the advent of the so-called print revolution. Print did not mark the end of manuscript transmission, which continued to be common well into the seventeenth century.[57] David McKitterick has suggested that there is 'too much of a division in historians' minds between manuscript and print', a concern also raised by H. R. Woudhuysen.[58] McKitterick suggests that 'it is more realistic to speak not of

[53] Christine Cooper-Rompato, 'Traveling Tongues: Foreign-Language Phrase Lists in Wynkyn de Worde and William Wey', *The Chaucer Review*, 46/1 (2011), 226.

[54] Duff, *Information*, fol. 17v.

[55] Cooper-Rompato, 'Traveling Tongues', 230.

[56] Duff, *Information*, xii; Cooper-Rompato, 'Traveling Tongues', 226, esp. n. 12.

[57] Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 2001), 3.

[58] David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003), 11; H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996, repr. 2003), 5.

one superseding the other, but of the two working together', which is key to understanding the interplay between manuscript and print.[59] It makes sense to consider print for the possibilities it offered, rather than as representing an inherent change in books themselves – early printed books indeed were often deliberately made to look like manuscripts. And while manuscript transmission continued after print became established, the authors of those manuscripts did not work in a vacuum; they were influenced by printed texts. Harff certainly had access to printed books but, unlike Thomas Larke and Bernhard von Breydenbach, while Harff used print sources, just as they did, his own work was not printed at the time. This was despite his connection with Cologne, the city from which he set out. Cologne, of course, was an early centre of printing – Ulrich Zell had relocated from Mainz to Cologne, and set up a printing press there in 1465, around half a decade before Harff was born.[60] Despite this, no printed edition of Harff's pilgrimage was forthcoming. In this sense, he is like Felix Fabri, who also wrote for an audience and was part of a world in which print was commonplace, but whose pilgrimage writings were not initially printed. The first of Fabri's writings appeared in print in 1556 – half a century after his death.[61] Like Fabri's works, Harff's text was copied by hand repeatedly, even into the seventeenth century. Given that fifteen manuscripts are known to have survived into the modern era,[62] we are looking at a reasonably popular text, albeit only within a small area, and we must also reckon with the influence of collective literacy, not to mention the illustrations transmitted alongside it, broadening access to Harff's work within the society in which it circulated. In the writing of Arnold von Harff (and Felix Fabri), we can see the influence of the printed Holy Land on continuing manuscript culture.

Despite the late appearance in print of Harff's pilgrimage, he is nonetheless to an extent part of a print tradition, since he used Breydenbach's text (albeit selectively) as one of his sources. In fact, Harff, like Fabri,[63] uses the descriptions in Breydenbach's text, themselves based on Paul Walther von Guglingen's, of other religious sects in the Holy Land. But Harff's use of the section on Greek Christians, which was mentioned in Chapter 2, alters Breydenbach's tone from polemical attack to generally neutral interest. And his use of Breydenbach was not limited to words: the illustration of the Greeks transmitted in manuscripts of Harff's account also resembles Reuwich's

59 McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order*, 21.

60 Hellinga, 'Printing', 65.

61 Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 66, 145.

62 Handschriftencensus, 'Arnold von Harff: Reisebericht', *Handschriftencensus* <www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2461> [accessed 17 April 2019].

63 Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 91.

woodcut.[64] As this section is so dependent on Breydenbach, it also provides evidence for the version of the text to which Harff had access – *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* was, after all, printed in several languages.[65] It is likely that Harff used the Early New High German edition, which first appeared in June 1486, rather than the other two likely candidates: the Latin edition (February 1486) and a translation variously described as Low German, Flemish, or Dutch, published in 1488.[66] The Latin is unlikely: although Harff would undoubtedly have learned Latin, and claims to have conversed in it,[67] comparison of his text with that of Marco Polo and with Mandeville's *Book* suggests that, where available, he used German sources.[68] And a comparison of his vocabulary choices in his description of the Greeks suggests a preference for the words also used in Breydenbach's High German edition, rather than the Low German. The High German text and Harff, for example, discuss the idea of infant confirmation in the following terms:

> Sie lassen yr kind fyrmen als bald nach dem tauff durch slecht prister (Breydenbach)
>
> ouch laissen sij yer kynder fyrmen hart nae der douffen van eynem slechten priester (Harff)[69]
>
> [they have their children confirmed by uneducated priests immediately after baptism]

[64] Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), fig. 13; Arnold von Harff, MS Bodl. 972: 'The Travels of Arnolt van Harffe from Cologne to Italy, Egypt, Palestine and India, and Back by Madagascar, the Upper Nile, Constantinople, and France, in 1496–99' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1554), fol. 53v; E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), 74. All the figures resemble Breydenbach's, but the resemblance is particularly clear on the right-hand side of the image. Nonetheless, the vast majority of the pictures in the former's text are quite different in subject or appearance from those in Breydenbach's and so, just as his textual use of Breydenbach is limited, so is his visual.

[65] Hugh William Davies, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography* (London, 1911), i.

[66] Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Beuarden nach Jherusalem* (Mainz, 1488); Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '05081 Breidenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, niederl. Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 24.V.1488. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW05081.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, 17; Alan Coates and others, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 6 vols (Oxford, 2005), II, 687.

[67] 'ich … saicht yem in latine' [I … said to him in Latin]: von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 38.

[68] See Chapter 3, 147–48.

[69] von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 74; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 422.

The similarity of phrasing and vocabulary is even more marked when compared with Breydenbach's Low German and Latin.[70] In Arnold von Harff's account, then, we see use of vernacular printed books to create a text within a manuscript tradition. Like Felix Fabri, Arnold von Harff, writing about thirteen years after the first printing of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, demonstrates that the history of print culture is not a linear path from manuscript to printed book.

Printing Conformity

The continental book trade made possible the relationship between the writings of the German, Bernhard von Breydenbach, and the Englishman, Thomas Larke, but a detailed examination of these texts and their relationship reveals them to be links in a chain of rewritten printed realisations of the Holy Land – just two intermediate members of a larger group entirely dependent on the textual access enabled by print. This group's authors include four other Germans: Sebald Rieter; his son, also named Sebald Rieter; Hans Tucher; and Peter Fassbender; and two Englishmen: Sir Richard Torkington and Robert Langton. Fassbender can be dispensed with quickly, as his work is a dead end and does not contribute to the further transmission of the tradition: his 1492 account exists in a single manuscript, and draws on Breydenbach's text. Tucher and the younger Rieter's accounts belong together, because they were fellow travellers, as well as collaborators. Tucher was born in 1428 into a wealthy merchant family in Nuremberg. In addition to their powerful position within Nuremberg itself, the family had commercial relationships in Poland, Bohemia, Italy, Switzerland, France, Spain, and the Netherlands, and must therefore have been frequent travellers.[71] The younger Sebald Rieter, meanwhile, came from a long line of pilgrims – previous members of the family had travelled to Jerusalem in the 1380s, 1436, and 1464, as well as completing other pilgrimages to Rome and Santiago.[72] In 1479, aged fifty-one and fifty-three respectively, Tucher and the younger Rieter made their pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Both men produced extremely similar accounts of their travels, and critics have debated precisely how much of each account originated with

[70] 'Sij vormen hoir kijnderen ter stont als sy ghedoopt syn end dar doen simpele priesteren' [They confirm their children the moment they are baptised, and simple priests do it]: Breydenbach, *Beuarden*, fol 93r (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6 Q 5.21). The copy is unfoliated. The Low German version was translated from the Latin, as Davies notes: Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, viii. 'Sacramentum preterea confirmationis paruulis suis mox post baptismum conferunt per simplices sacerdotes' [The sacrament of confirmation is additionally conferred on their infants by simple priests soon after baptism]: Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (Mainz, 1486), fol. 78v.

[71] Meyer, 'New Methods', 31–32.

[72] Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, eds, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (Tübingen, 1884), 1.

which pilgrim. It is clear from an analysis of the texts in the *Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* that Tucher and the younger Rieter drew in part on the elder Sebald Rieter's account of his own Jerusalem pilgrimage, and some of the text that makes it through our chain of pilgrim writings can be traced back to this earlier account. Nonetheless, it is Tucher's version that is ultimately relevant here, as the Rieter writings circulated only in manuscript form, and only amongst the immediate family,[73] whereas Tucher's introduced this tradition to the wider world. His account was first printed in German in 1482 in that hub of vernacular printing, Augsburg.[74] Bernhard von Breydenbach certainly made use of Tucher's text during the composition of his own work.

Little is known of Sir Richard Torkington, other than that he was made parish priest of Mulbarton in Norfolk in 1511 at the behest of Thomas Boleyn (father of Anne).[75] In 1517, he produced a text on the subject of his own pilgrimage. It was not printed until 1884, when it was edited by W. J. Loftie, who gave the text the manifestly inaccurate title of *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell*. The *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* had in fact been reprinted in 1851, ensuring that both its medieval and its modern appearances pre-date those of Torkington's narrative. Torkington's work draws heavily on Thomas Larke's work, continuing the textual tradition beginning with Hans Tucher's text.

Finally, Robert Langton was related to two high-profile figures in the English Church, who doubtless enabled his own rise. His uncle was Thomas Langton, who was archbishop-elect of Canterbury on his death in 1501, and his cousin was Christopher Bainbridge, who was both a cardinal and archbishop of York. Langton studied at the Queen's College, Oxford from 1487, and from 1493 to 1498 in Bologna. Robert Langton was a wealthy man, and gave large sums of money to the God's House hospital in Southampton and to his college in Oxford. He embarked on his pilgrimage, which took in Santiago de Compostela, Rome, and other destinations in 1511, and returned to England by 1514, publishing in 1522 the relatively unsuccessful *The pylgrymage of M. Robert Langton clerke to Seynt James in Compostell and in other holy places of Crystendome*, from the press of Robert Copland.[76] Early in the book, he acknowledges his debt to Larke.[77]

[73] Randall Herz, ed., *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480): Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* (Wiesbaden, 2002), 3.

[74] Herz, *Tucher der Ältere*, 224.

[75] W. J. Loftie, ed., *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517* (London, 1884), ii.

[76] Henry Summerson, 'Langton, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16042> [accessed 15 April 2019].

[77] E. M. Blackie, *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (London, 1924), 3.

There is one further representation of the Holy Land that might have influenced its written construction in Europe: the (potential) Jerusalem guidebook. This is not the type of guidebook represented by *The Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, which originates in England, and which gives the potential pilgrim advice pertaining to the whole journey, but rather a guidebook solely to pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land itself. Josephie Brefeld argues that a single standard guidebook to the Jerusalem pilgrimage existed in the later Middle Ages.[78] Her research questions are not without merit, but her methodology and conclusions have been queried.[79] Mount Sion, of course, had its own library, and the books within it must also have influenced the pilgrim writers who stayed there. More importantly, however, Brefeld's observation of the similarities between sites visited and the terms in which they were described draws attention to the conformity of description between many accounts of the holy places without dismissing them, like E. Gordon Duff in the nineteenth century, as being therefore 'plagiarised' texts of little intrinsic literary value or as unimportant points in the development of something more important,[80] an approach criticised by Kathryne Beebe.[81] Brefeld's solution is to hypothesise the existence of a single guidebook that influenced these pilgrim authors. While the similarities do point to a culture of rewriting, Brefeld's conclusion is of course not the only possibility, and might be seen as rather improbable. The likelier solution is what we have already seen: that texts about pilgrimage were expected to repeat and endorse the words and experiences reported by other travellers in the region. Once a pilgrimage was printed, it was more easily and widely accessible, and stated unity of experience could be achieved across a larger spectrum, achieving wide transmission in a hitherto unprecedentedly short time.

The writings of Tucher and the younger Rieter, Breydenbach, Larke, and Torkington, appearing relatively early in the history of print, form links in a chain of books about Holy Land pilgrimage that, together, emphasise the importance of almost complete consistency of the pilgrimage experience. Breydenbach and Larke are at its heart, representing the moment that the chain formed its link across linguistic and geographical boundaries.

Peregrinatio in terram sanctam is a large and complex book, containing far more than just an account of Breydenbach's pilgrimage itself. In some ways, the work is a typical product of the new culture of print; Elizabeth Eisenstein regards potential crusade, certainly one of Breydenbach's purposes in writing,

78 Josephie Brefeld, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, 1994).

79 Scott D. Westrem, '"A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism" by Josephie Brefeld', *Speculum*, 72/1 (1997), 116–19.

80 Duff, *Information*, xi.

81 Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 38.

as the major religious movement to make use of the printing press before Luther. She leaves no room for doubt over its significance: 'Church officials had already hailed the new technology as a gift from God.'[82] However, despite the amount of space within the text devoted to the call to crusade, and the descriptions of the inhabitants of the Holy Land that led up to it,[83] this is not primarily how Breydenbach or his readers appear to have conceived of the text. It is summed up in the following terms:

> Sanctarum peregrinationum in montem Syon ad venerandum christi sepulchrum in Jerusalem, atque in montem Synai ad diuam virginem et martirem Katherinam opusculum hoc contentiuum.[84]
>
> [This little work pertains to the sacred pilgrimages to Mount Sion to venerate Christ's sepulchre in Jerusalem, as well as to Mount Sinai to the blessed virgin and martyr Catherine.]

Several centuries later, Wes Williams described it as a 'compendious and fairly old-fashioned call to pilgrimage both moral and practical'.[85] It is not, though, the crusading sections of the text, or those constructing a religious other that were drawn on by Thomas Larke. While it is worth being aware that the text can be situated against the background of printed materials inciting crusade, and that this can help in part to contextualise it, ultimately the print history of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* is better considered as its name suggests – a book about a pilgrimage which, through the medium of print, was accessed across Europe.

The early print history of *Peregrinatio* can be associated with Bernhard von Breydenbach in a more straightforward way than the equivalent history of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* can be associated with Larke. Breydenbach takes named ownership of his work immediately and repeatedly, and this strongly implies that he was both instigator and overseer of the text, Martin Rath's probable role as ghostwriter notwithstanding. Breydenbach had been in Mainz since his childhood, arriving around 1450, and had thus spent most of his life steeped in print culture. It is therefore perhaps not surprising that he decided to publish an account of his journey. Nonetheless, he was at pains to stress (in both his German and Latin editions) that ultimately this still

[82] Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), 145.

[83] See Chapter 2.

[84] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 148v. The German text echoes this description precisely: 'Dises werck ynnhaltende die heyligen reyßen gen Jherusalem zů dem heiligen grab vnd furbaß zů der hochgelobten jungfrauwen vnd mertreryn sant Katheryn': Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 724.

[85] Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford, 1998), 53.

relatively new innovation in book production changed very little about books themselves. He wrote:

> Ceterum multipharia humanorum studia ingeniorum neque nouorum condendorum existere finem librorum (si tamen id nouum dici possit quod alia quaque prius veste indutum et nouo dumtaxat fuco siue colore superlitum superque videtur opertum. eadem rei substantia manente sub alio et alio aduenticio modo essendi).[86]
>
> [Besides there is no limit to the plentiful study of human capacity, nor the new composition of books (if indeed novelty can be spoken of when different clothing from before is put on, or new colours are merely laid over that which is hidden from sight, with the same substance of the thing remaining, under one or other chance manner of being).]

Despite his keen use of the medium, then, Breydenbach appears to regard print as a fairly superficial change – an alteration to the production of books, rather than to anything inherent to books themselves. This represents an engagement with, and a rejection of, 'the possibility that print may function differently or (crucially) be perceived to function differently from manuscript'.[87] In his decision to print, Breydenbach was not an innovator – Hans Tucher had after all published a German account of his own Jerusalem pilgrimage in Augsburg in 1482, and Ludolf von Sudheim's encyclopaedic work had appeared in German some years before that.[88] Given Sudheim's text's publication history, as well as its wide circulation in manuscript, Breydenbach could easily have had access to this text, even before he travelled. His innovation was in the almost concurrent bilingual publication of the text – the Latin edition appeared in February 1486, the German in June of the same year – and in his inclusion of woodcuts, for the purpose of which he brought the artist, Erhard

[86] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 2r. The German edition expresses the same concept in the same terms: 'kom ich also vff myn meynung, daz mancherley vbung vnd gebruch sy menschlicher vernunfft vnd synn vnd keyn end, nuwer bucher zu machen (ob joch etwas diser zyt mo̊chte nuwe genant werden. solichs meyn ich, daz alleyn vßwendig eyn ander kleydung enpfahet oder mit eyner anderen farbe vberstrichen wurdt dan eß vorhyn hette, doch die substanz von ynnen vnveranderet verlyben, vnder anderem vnd anderem vßwendigem vnd zukommendem zuvall'). [I come thus to the opinion that there should be plentiful study and utilisation of human reason and understanding, and no end to new books (if anything at this time can be called new. I think that it has simply received other clothing externally, or been painted in a different colour to that which it had previously, but the substance within remains unchanged, whatever has happened to the outside).] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 4.

[87] Jane Griffiths, 'Having The Last Word: Manuscript, Print, and The Envoy in the Poetry of John Skelton', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009, repr. 2011), 81.

[88] Herz, *Tucher der Ältere*, xiv, 224.

Reuwich, to the Holy Land with him.[89] Breydenbach, indeed, draws attention to the pioneering interplay of text and image in a work of this type. He writes that the book he is presenting is:

> modo prius inuiso, per scripturam videlicet et picturam
>
> [first of its type, which can be seen through its writing and pictures]
>
> jn form vnd maß vorhyn villicht nit me gesehen vnd lassen drůcken als in geschrifft mit sampt gemelt[90]
>
> [in form and type probably not seen before, printed with writing and pictures together]

The German is interesting for its specific mention of the new technology, but both versions convey Breydenbach's conscious desire to innovate. The inclusion of woodcuts in a description of the Holy Land may also be designed to call to mind the early printed Bibles, in which woodcuts had already appeared.[91] Reuwich is also credited in the first editions, both Latin and German, as printer without mention of any assistance:

> per Erhardus reüwich de Traiecto inferiori impressum In ciuitate Moguntina
>
> durch Erhart rewich von Vttricht ynn der statt Meyntz getrucket[92]
>
> [printed by Erhard Reuwich of Utrecht in the city of Mainz]

The same credit appears in the Low German version, two years later. These editions are the only ones to have been printed by Reuwich, and are further linked by the fact that Breydenbach probably directly supervised their publication.[93] It is, however, more likely that the publication of Breydenbach's book was a joint enterprise between Reuwich and Gutenberg's successor, Peter

89 Beebe notes that Fabri was impressed by the innovative interaction of words and images. Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 91.

90 Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 2v; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 6–8.

91 See, for example, the Koberger-Bibel: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '04303 Biblia, deutsch. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 17.II.1483. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2013 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW04303.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]. Albrecht Pfister had also printed works incorporating woodcuts alongside text; in the 1460s, for example, he published two illustrated editions of *Der Ackermann aus Böhmen*: Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '00193 Ackermann von Böhmen. [Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, um 1460] [vielmehr unbekannter Drucker mit Typen des Albrecht Pfister, um 1470]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2007 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW00193.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]; Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, '00194 Ackermann von Böhmen. [Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, um 1463]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2010 <Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke> [accessed 17 April 2019].

92 Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 148v; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 724.

93 Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, xxxii, xxix.

Schoeffer, as Schoeffer's types are used in the printing.[94] Printing, like reading and writing, was a communal endeavour.

Multiple copies of multiple editions of Breydenbach's text are still extant, and these codices also represent the multiple languages in which the text appeared.[95] In order to illuminate the source of this phenomenon, the focus here is on the first Latin and (High) German editions, of February and June 1486 respectively.[96] The High German edition was probably directed at a lay audience within the German-speaking lands, and the Latin edition, while primarily aimed at the clergy, enabled Breydenbach's text to spread across Europe via the Latin printed book trade, and then through translation into various vernaculars.[97] This particular incarnation of the printed Holy Land had colossal reach. All editions of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* are folio books. The original publication incorporates several fold-out woodcuts of locations on the journey: Venice, Corfu, and Candia (Crete), amongst others. These tend to be described as maps in English (as, for example, in the British Library's Incunabula Short Title Catalogue),[98] but are in fact landscapes as much as maps (with the exception of the map of Jerusalem and the Holy Land). This lack of clarity reflects their innovative nature; Elizabeth Ross sees them as 'helping to invent a genre whose conventions and meaning were hardly resolved in the 1480s', and suggests referring to them as 'views'.[99] This is in line with the *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, which uses the term 'Ansicht' [view, image, prospect, picture].[100] These fold-outs are often partially missing from surviving editions, as they are, for example, from British Library, IB.335. Bodleian Library, Inc.d.G1.1486.1 is unusual in containing the large fold-out map or view of the Holy Land. In some editions, such as the German edition printed by Anton Sorg in Augsburg in 1488, the views do not appear to have ever been included. There are also several smaller woodcuts, particularly in the sections describing the inhabitants of the Holy Land. While both editions include woodcuts, more were intended: there are blank spaces clearly left for woodcuts at the sections describing the Jacobites, Nestorians, Armenians, Georgians, and Maronites. These were not forthcoming, and in subsequent

94 Füssel, *Gutenberg und seine Wirkung*, 38.

95 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Breidenbach (Gesamtkatalog)'.

96 These editions are represented here by London, British Library, IB.335 (German) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Inc.c.G1.1486.1 (Latin).

97 Incunabula are referred to by the titles stamped on their spines: Bernhard von Breydenbach, *Die heyligen reyssen gen Jherusalem* (Mainz, 1486) (first German edition); Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486) (first Latin edition).

98 Consortium of European Research Libraries, 'Breydenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam [German] Die heyligen reyssen gen Jherusalem', *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, 2016 <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib01193000> [accessed 17 April 2019].

99 Elizabeth Ross, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio' from Venice to Jerusalem.* (University Park, 2014), 4.

100 Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'Breidenbach (Gesamtkatalog)'.

editions the spaces intended to house the other woodcuts were removed.[101] The larger woodcuts, as well as the size of the book, clearly identify the work both as a luxury item, and as a deeply impractical object actually to bring on one's travels. Further evidence of the book as a luxury item appears in the form of several surviving printings on vellum, one of which – British Library, G.7202 – was, like *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, part of Thomas Grenville's Library. Breydenbach does stress that he intends the work to be of use to other worthy men who wish to make the pilgrimage, but the sense is perhaps more that the book should be useful in their preparations than that it should accompany them on their journey.[102] With regard to the first German printing of June 1486,[103] there is substantial blank space on the page around the text block, and where the structure of the book is explained, the text is spaced out, which means that the structure is represented almost visually. At the ends of sections, the majority of the page is often left blank. There was clearly no expectation of maximising the use of each page. This is particularly clearly visible on folia 7v–8r (my foliation). Folio 7v is left entirely blank, while the top half of folio 8r is taken up with the title and description of the work, which is printed in far larger type. Space was left for coloured initials to be added after the printing process, and in this case, the space is particularly generous. The first edition was not foliated during printing, nor indeed do subsequent printings appear to have been.

While they do not even seem to have been foliated by their readers, we can often see other traces, both of the prestige that these books had for their owners, and the attention with which they were read. They were not simply ornaments, but were also valued for their content. The missing initials in British Library, IB.335 have been filled in in red, with a very small amount of additional decoration to the initials. The text has also been rubricated throughout, and an additional title, written on vellum, has been pasted onto the first page of text. In Bodleian Library, Inc.c.G1.1486.1 (Latin, 1486), meanwhile, some of the surviving maps and other woodcuts have been partially painted over in colour; the initials have been carefully completed and the text rubricated; and there are fairly extensive marginal notes, including maniculae. While the woodcuts have not been painted in British Library, IB.335, the text in the frontispiece has been rubricated, as has the coat of arms at the bottom. Ultimately, the surviving copies of *Peregrinatio* clearly indicate not only a high-status luxury item, but an item that was used and personalised. All in all, then, we are looking at a work that influenced depictions of the Holy Land by its wide transmission enabled by print, and particularly its

[101] See for example, Reuwich's Low German edition and Sorg's Augsburg edition, both of 1488.

[102] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fols 7r–7v; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 50.

[103] Although these observations refer specifically to British Library, IB.335, they are generally true for the 1486 editions of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*.

bilingual publication. Moreover, we are looking at a work used within Europe, including by people who had never seen the Holy Land, rather than at a personal and practical guide to be taken on pilgrimage.[104]

It is clear from Breydenbach's production of his work and his publication strategy that he was seeking to reach as wide an audience as possible, both in terms of audience numbers and spread of social class. The Latin edition was published two years after the conclusion of the pilgrimage in 1484, but the short space of time between the two publications suggests that both a Latin and a German edition were always intended.[105] So what conclusions can we draw from the dual-language publication strategy? For a start, the decision to publish first in Latin was usual for important works at the time,[106] and may therefore have been intended to emphasise the book's status. It also enabled the book to have an international reach from the very start,[107] while simultaneously initially reaching an educated and clerical audience at home.[108] This initial publication in Latin marks the end of an era in travel writing, for by the early sixteenth century, travel reports were usually published first in the vernacular. Latin editions, when they appeared, tended to be translations.[109] The German edition then followed in order to contribute to Breydenbach's stated desire to reach the 'slechten leyen',[110] perhaps for the purpose of moral improvement. The word 'slecht', meaning 'simple' or 'uneducated', could have referred also to that section of society that was educated, but not Latin-literate, lacking a university education – merchants, for example.[111]

[104] Beebe dismisses the idea that this book could be taken on pilgrimage, based on its size alone. Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 90.

[105] Not long afterwards, in 1493, the richly illustrated *Nürnberger Weltchronik* was also printed in both Latin and German: Füssel, 'Early Modern German Printing', 230.

[106] Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, i.

[107] Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* was published in German in 1494, but its translation into Latin in 1497 was the source for its translations into several European vernaculars.

[108] Chapter 2 notes some of the content specifically aimed at the Latin edition's clerical audience.

[109] As Wolfgang Neuber points out, this marked out travel publications as unusual for, as a rule, texts continued to be translated from Latin into the vernacular: Wolfgang Neuber, 'Travel Reports in Early Modern Germany', in *Camden House History of German Literature, IV: Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2007), 741. The change may, therefore, indicate a particular lay interest in reports of travel, with the Latin facilitating an international readership, easing translation into other vernaculars.

[110] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 290.

[111] Nikolaus Staubach draws attention to the variety of implications inherent even in the term 'Laien', which could be employed 'als Opposition zu ganz unterschiedlichen Qualifikationen – kirchlicher Weihegrad, Universitätsbildung, Lateinkenntnis – eine Mehrzahl von terminologisch nur unvollkommen abzugrenzenden Bedeutungen umfassen kann: *homines saeculares, simplices, illitterati idiotae* u. ä' [in opposition to a whole range of qualifications – priestly ordination, university education, Latin literacy – which can incorporate a large number of meanings that are only terminologically

This group would have been able to read Breydenbach's German words for themselves. Those only able to read woodcuts could also have accessed the content of the vernacular text through collective literacy. Target audience or not, Breydenbach cannot have expected all sections of society encompassed by the term 'slechten leyen' to have owned a copy of his work, even in German. Despite the vastly greater number of books on the market than had been the case a few decades earlier, ownership of books was still an elite privilege around the time of the text's publication. Tilo Brandis is quite clear that around 1480, although there is some evidence of wider purchase of books, both Latin and vernacular works were still primarily in the hands of the clergy, as well as belonging to theologians, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and members of the upper aristocracy.[112] But however the less-educated or uneducated lay people were intended to access it, the publication of a German version was in itself something of a statement, albeit not unprecedented.

While the German edition could have been expected, by virtue of collective literacy, to have reached those many members of the German-speaking population who were ignorant of Latin, Breydenbach's own strategy did not provide for the 'rudes' abroad. He did not oversee his work's translation into other vernaculars, except, perhaps, for the 1488 Low German edition, which was also printed by Reuwich. But, through the Latin edition, he had at least created the means for his work to spread. As early printers discovered, 'the market for books in Latin had no limits … provided one was in a location favourable to transport and long-distance communication'.[113] As a foreign, internationally relevant work, the Latin edition of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* was precisely the kind of book that was imported into England, rather than printed there, and it appears both in English libraries, including that of Syon Abbey, and private book collections of the period like those of Anthony Little, curate of Luton and James Horswell, MP for Plymouth 'owned as often by the gentry … as by the clergy'.[114] Whether he owned the book or not, one of the Englishmen to have access to *Peregrinatio* was one Thomas

partially delimited: secular people, the uneducated, illiterate idiots, etc.] Nikolaus Staubach, 'Gerhard Zerbolt von Zutphen und die Laienbibel', in *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800*, ed. M. Lamberigts and A. A. Den Hollander, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CXCVIII (Leuven, 2006), 9.

112 'Bücher, und zwar sowohl lateinische als auch volkssprachige, waren nach wie vor vornehmlich in Händen der Geistlichkeit aus vermögenden Klöstern und Stadtpfarreien, von Theologen, Juristen, Ärzten, Kaufleuten in den wichtigeren Universitäts- und Handelsstädten sowie von Angehörigen des höheren Adels': Brandis, 'Handschriften- und Buchproduktion', 179.

113 Hellinga, 'Printing', 66.

114 Mary Bateson, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge, 1898), 80; Margaret Lane Ford, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 212.

Larke, confessor to Cardinal Wolsey, and former chaplain to Sir Richard Guylforde, and it is through Larke that some of Breydenbach's words appeared in English, re-presented in order to become part of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*.

While the surviving members of Guylforde's party returned to England in early 1507, Pynson's printing of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* itself did not appear in print until 1511. Pynson was a prolific printer of both legal and religious texts, becoming King's Printer in 1506, and managing to refine the post in 1512 to ensure that the exclusive right was reserved to him of printing royal statutes and proclamations. He was a shrewd businessman with powerful connections, who was able to influence the role of print in early sixteenth-century English society. Pamela Neville-Sington regards him as a key figure in the 'development of printing as an instrument of state policy'.[115] The key players involved in the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* were, or (in the case of Guylforde himself) had been, high-ranking figures in English society, and analysis of the book itself, alongside the people known to have been associated with it, shows that involvement in its production is likely to have extended as far as the Crown.

There is no evidence as to when the book was written in the four years intervening between the pilgrimage and its publication. There is only one surviving copy of the text – no other Pynson copy of it remains, nor is there any manuscript evidence to date the work, or, indeed, any personal clue within the text itself as to when it was completed. Assertions about the circumstances of its publication are therefore generally based on circumstantial evidence. Immediately following the title page, there is a full-page image of the arms of Henry VIII and Catherine of Aragon. The royal insignia are not always present in Pynson's printed books, and Stanley Howard Johnston views their presence here as evidence of a royal connection with the text. He proposes that the presence of the arms indicates the approval of the Crown, and even a possible subsidy for publication.[116] Pamela Ayers Neville also suggests that Henry commissioned the publication of the text,[117] and Rob Lutton views this as likely.[118] Whether that meant commissioning Larke to write the text, or printing a text that he had already written, is impossible to ascertain. As Wolsey's confessor, present in court from 1507, Larke certainly had

[115] Pamela Neville-Sington, 'Pynson, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22935> [accessed 17 April 2019].

[116] Stanley Howard Johnston, 'A Study of the Career and Literary Publications of Richard Pynson' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977), 87.

[117] Pamela Ayers Neville, 'Richard Pynson, King's Printer (1506–1529): Printing and Propaganda in Early Tudor England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Warburg Institute, 1990), 106.

[118] Rob Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing in Early Sixteenth-Century England: The Pilgrimage Accounts of Thomas Larke and Robert Langton', *Viator*, 48/3 (2017), 346.

royal connections,[119] and, as he occasionally addresses his audience, he was writing with one in mind. Both his connections with the royal court and his awareness of his audience suggest that he knew when writing that the work would be printed. Johnston's assertion that 'the work may actually have been issued as propaganda in Henry's campaign to encourage the fledgling English crusading instinct' is not borne out in any way by the content of the work, for Larke is uninterested in the contemporary situation of the Holy Land, focusing exclusively on pilgrimage sites, and events directly affecting the members of his group.[120]

Domestic concerns are more likely to have played a role in the decision to print the work. Rob Lutton suggests that it may have been intended to promote religious orthodoxy in the face of popular Wycliffitism in Guylforde's own part of Kent,[121] though this does not imply that the text was backward looking, simply that any reforming tendencies were anchored firmly within the institutional Church. In fact, Lutton's view is that it represents 'a deliberate attempt to provide a reformed but orthodox Jerusalem pilgrimage account to a growing English audience, perhaps with the support of senior figures at court and humanist scholars'.[122] The work may also have been intended as a memorial for Guylforde, and these motivations are not mutually exclusive. Johnston excludes this possibility on the basis that the knight had died in the Holy Land five years before publication.[123] However, this is to neglect the circumstances that had induced Guylforde to embark upon his pilgrimage, namely that the pilgrimage was a means of avoiding prosecution for debt. The most likely explanation for the printing of the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* may well be simply that Henry VIII wished to rehabilitate the reputation of a loyal supporter of his father, and that sufficient time had passed for it not to be impolitic to do so, since by 1511, Henry VII was dead, and Henry VIII had been on the throne for two years – not to mention Larke's now privileged position, which potentially awarded him access to the royal household.[124] Henry and Catherine were both highly educated, and Henry was an author as well as a reader and prolific book collector. Richard Pynson, as the King's Printer, of course printed statutes and proclamations for Henry, but at his request he is also known to have printed more substantial volumes. The translator of the English version of the chronicles of Jean Froissart, which was printed by Pynson, stated that 'he had undertaken the project at the

[119] Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing', 340–47.

[120] See Chapter 2, 71–74.

[121] Rob Lutton, 'Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England', *History*, 98/329 (2013), 51.

[122] Lutton, 'Piety and Cultural Change', 353.

[123] Johnston, 'Richard Pynson', 87.

[124] The view of the publication as a '*post-mortem* rehabilitation' is also supported by Lutton: Lutton, 'Piety and Cultural Change', 51.

request of the king himself', and later in his reign, Henry had texts published outlining appropriate religious positions.[125] There is, of course, no way to prove the extent of any royal involvement, but, given the connections of those involved with the text's production, alongside the fact that Henry could and did commission books during his reign, the suggestion that he commissioned the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* is quite reasonable.

Beyond these conclusions, which are indicative of a high original status, there are few clues to be gained about the book's origins from its surviving copy. As only this one copy remains, no statement can be made about how many were originally printed, beyond the existence of a lawsuit brought by Pynson listing the numbers of various print runs of other texts. There are six print runs listed, of which five are of 600 books, and one of 1,000.[126] The Jerusalem pilgrimage was a crowd-pleasing subject, and the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* was presumably in circulation six years after publication, given that it heavily influenced the account of Sir Richard Torkington in 1517. The surviving copy of the text was discovered in Thomas Grenville's library, for which it was rebound, and all its leaves edged in gold, which again complicates determining its original status. It is nonetheless possible to reach certain conclusions. The book is a quarto volume, and its small size would have enabled it to be easily packed and brought on a pilgrimage – a practical function that the size of *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* would have excluded. It was foliated during the printing process, with one error – folio 27 is listed twice. There is little blank space on the page, but the letters are well spaced, and the text is easy to read. There is limited use of larger initial letters throughout. At the top of each page there are subtitles (with varying forms of abbreviation), but these do not always correspond to the section of the text on the page. Most interestingly, although less than one-third of Pynson's surviving publications are illustrated (in comparison to over half of Wynkyn de Worde's),[127] the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* opens with a woodcut depicting a group of pilgrims arriving at a castle. The presence of this woodcut may, along with the royal insignia, be the best indication of the book having a fairly high status. This text appears to be the first of Pynson's works in which this particular woodcut appears,[128] but as it was already slightly damaged it may well have been used elsewhere, and not necessarily by Pynson himself. Tamara Atkin and A. S. G. Edwards note that 'woodcuts were often borrowed from Continental models and frequently recycled, sometimes with limited contextual appropriateness'.[129] This particular woodcut was later reused by Pynson in *The hystorye, sege and dystruccyon of*

[125] James P. Carley, *The Books of Henry VIII and his Wives* (London, 2004), 73–75, 79.
[126] Henry R. Plomer, 'Two Lawsuits of Richard Pynson', *The Library*, s2-X/38 (1909), 126.
[127] Atkin and Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', 30.
[128] Edward Hodnett, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (Oxford, 1935, repr. 1973), 360.
[129] Atkin and Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', 28.

Troye in 1513. In terms of the book's use, the final six folia are mutilated, and the damage presumably occurred before the book entered Grenville's library, because the corners of the damaged leaves have been repaired with blank paper edged in gold, making the book appear externally to be complete. There is, therefore, little information about usage and readership to be drawn from the physical book itself.

The content of the book is more easily analysed. With the exception of certain episodes relating to the journey that were specific to the 1506 pilgrimage in which Guylforde participated, the text contains standard descriptions of pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. Innovation, as we have seen, in description of the holy places was not an asset in writings dealing with pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Conformity represented authenticity. This text seeks to do little more than describe the holy sites, and to outline the journey to and from them. In that sense, it has a more limited scope than the writings of Wey, Breydenbach, and Harff. And, although it also draws on other popular sources like Mandeville, the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* is particularly reliant on Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*. The significance and nature of their relationship is worth a closer look.

Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, as an imported book, is more typical of the kind of book traded in England in the late Middle Ages than *The Pylgrymage of Richard Guylforde*.[130] And given the lower standards of English printing, Larke was working from a book whose status or craftsmanship he could not expect to approach,[131] and he does not appear to have intended to try. Nonetheless, it seems that Larke used Breydenbach extensively. The examples that follow are illustrative, rather than exhaustive, as much of Larke's description of pilgrimage sites in the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* is taken directly from *Peregrinatio*. He generally directly translates Breydenbach's Latin, rather than paraphrasing it. Crucially, he includes Breydenbach's most generic sections – namely those aspects of a pilgrimage that are not unique to Breydenbach's particular expedition, but which could be expected to be shared by all pilgrims – not the details of travel to and from the Holy Land, or any wider social commentary, from the ethnographic sections to the criticism of the behaviour of priests. Larke's own reforming impulse is, though, evident elsewhere, most notably in his approach to indulgences, which, while far from dismissive, is somewhat more circumspect than Breydenbach's.[132] His targets for translation are amongst the sections of Breydenbach's text that do not vary

[130] Alexandra Gillespie, 'Caxton and the Invention of Printing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009, repr. 2011), 24.

[131] Given the frequency with which Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* appears in English book collections of the period, there is no reason to presume that there is an intermediary text between Breydenbach's text and Larke's.

[132] Lutton, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing', 351.

between the German and Latin editions, though he would have been unaware of the fact. In other words, Thomas Larke – like many other pilgrim writers – represents uniformity of experience. Thanks to print, he is able to create this uniformity across decades and geographical borders.

This is an issue of precise wording: many descriptions of the pilgrimage sites around Jerusalem share much of the order in which these sites are visited. William Wey and Arnold von Harff report the sites in the same order, and they are not alone. Harff, however, does not appear to use these sections of Breydenbach's text as a source, despite drawing on other passages. Wey's and Harff's descriptions of these sites, while of course similar, given that they belong to the same genre of late-medieval pilgrimage writing, are not part of the same textual tradition that unites Bernhard von Breydenbach and Thomas Larke (along with Hans Tucher and Richard Torkington). Neither, for that matter, is the *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land*, although in order and tone it matches other accounts. A manuscript written at Mount Sion, dated to 1471, and partially edited by Régine Pernoud is a further useful additional point of comparison as in it the order of sites visited mostly corresponds to the order of places represented by our four main pilgrim texts.[133] Likewise, although the Mount Sion manuscript covers the sites in less detail, it does illustrate that the types of details described by pilgrims tend to be broadly similar – to correspond to the Franciscan schema, in other words. Given its connection to Mount Sion, the manuscript may even be a source for multiple accounts. A comparison between the *Information*, the four main accounts considered here, Hans Tucher, Richard Torkington, and the Mount Sion manuscript demonstrates the extent of general similarities between pilgrims' descriptions of these particular holy sites, and the much stronger connection between certain pilgrimage writings that is indicative of a particular textual tradition enabled by the circulation and rewriting of printed texts.

By way of illustration, we can look at Larke's account of 'Pylgrymages into the Vale of Josophat' and the following passage, 'Pylgrymage at the Mounte of Olyuete'.[134] The equivalent section in *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* begins 'De descensu in vallem Josaphat' ['on the descent into the Valley of Josaphat'].[135] There are some minor differences: Larke does not always reproduce Breydenbach's titles in the corresponding position in his own text. A brief description of the site of Stephen's stoning and the Golden Gate appears at the start of Larke's 'Vale of Josophat' section, for example, although it immediately precedes the equivalent title in his source. Larke also adds occasional additional pieces of information that do not appear in *Peregrinatio*,

[133] Régine Pernoud, *Un guide du pélerin de Terre-Sainte au XVe siècle* (Mantes, 1940). Sebald Rieter the Elder's account does not follow this order.

[134] Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), 30–33.

[135] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fols 33r–34r.

like the detail that the Cedron (Kidron) 'rennyth bytwene the cytie and the Mounte of Olyuete'.[136] He then omits certain other features, such as the extensive details provided by Breydenbach about the church containing the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. These really are small differences, however, and the similarities between the texts are otherwise clear. Indeed, much of Larke's description of sites in the Valley of Josaphat is a direct translation of that in Breydenbach's text. We read in Breydenbach, for example:

> in vallem Josapat descendimus ad torrentem Cedron qui estiuo quidem tempore aquis caret, sed verno tempore et presertim circa tempus quadragisimale copiose illis habundat[137]
>
> [we descended into the Vale of Josaphat to the River Kidron, which in summertime lacks water, but in springtime, and particularly around the time of Lent, has copious amounts]

In Larke's text, we read: 'we … descendyd into the vale of Josophat … And so firste we come to Torrens Cedron, which in somer tyme is drye, and in wynter, and specyally in Lent, it is meruaylously flowen with rage of water'.[138] My first set of ellipses represent an additional detail given by Larke, while the second set signify the textual relocation of his reference to Stephen's stoning and the Golden Gate. He follows the quotation above by adding further information about the force of the stream, before returning to follow Breydenbach, who writes: 'Pontem habet lapideum in eo loco quem sancta helena construi fecit' [there is a stone bridge there, which St Helena had made].[139] Larke renders this as, 'ouer this same water saynt Elyn made a brydge of stone'.[140] These slight variants serve to emphasise, rather than to minimise, Larke's reliance on Breydenbach's text. Even when he adds details, or moves sections, he returns to his source. Despite the small deviations, it is therefore clear that Larke's descriptions here are essentially a translation.

There is one particularly noteworthy aspect to Larke's use of Breydenbach's text. Both texts – naturally – refer often to scripture. In Breydenbach's Latin text, this can be partially paraphrased: 'accessimus locum … vbi christus orans positusque in agonia factus est sudor eius tanque gutte sanguinis decurrentis in terram' [we came to the place … where Christ was praying in a position of agony, and his sweat flowed down as drops of blood to the ground].[141] Breydenbach broadly sets the scene with reference to the Vulgate, but Larke

[136] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 31.
[137] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 33r.
[138] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 30–31.
[139] Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 33r.
[140] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 31.
[141] 'et factus in agonia prolixius orabat et factus est sudor eius sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram' [and being in an agony, he prayed the longer. And his sweat became

adds the detail of Christ's prayer as follows: 'our Sauyour prayeng fell in suche an agonye … seyinge, "Pater si possibile est vt transiat a me calix iste verumtamen, non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu vis, fiat voluntas tua"', which is a conflation of Matthew 26:39 and 26:42.[142] While Larke's tendency to identify pilgrimage sites with scriptural quotations is noteworthy in itself, a certain cultural tension is revealed if we look a little earlier in his text. Shortly before the description of the Valley of Josaphat, during the description of pilgrimage sites within Jerusalem, the pilgrims come to the place where Jesus met the women of Jerusalem. Breydenbach provides his response to them essentially as it appears in the Vulgate,[143] and Larke includes this in his translation: 'Wepe ye not vpon me, ye doughters of Jherusalem, but wepe ye vpon your self and vpon your children'.[144] It would seem that when Larke inserts additional scriptural quotations, however small, he cautiously preserves them in Latin, but when translating from Breydenbach's account he is content to render scripture in English.[145] There is a mental separation between quotations taken personally and directly from Scripture, and those taken from the description of another man's pilgrimage. This difference in literary practice reveals both a specific difficulty for Larke, and an important cultural difference between England and Germany. The use of the vernacular Bible was a controversial topic in late-medieval England. The 1408 constitutions of Clarendon, 'formulated in a period of anxiety about Lollardy', which prohibited the translation of scripture into English continued to have an effect well into the sixteenth century.[146] Given that local concerns about Lollardy have been suggested as a possible reason for the publication of this text,[147] it would not be surprising if Larke had decided to be particularly cautious. There were limits to his interest in reform, and he evidently preferred to err on the side of orthodoxy

---

as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground] (Luke 22:43–44). Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 33r.

142 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 31. 'Pater si possibile est transeat a me calix iste verumtamen non sicut ego volo sed sicut tu' [My Father, if it be possible, let this chalice pass from me. Nevertheless not as I will, but as thou wilt] (Matthew 26:39); 'Pater mi si non potest hic calix transire nisi bibam illum fiat voluntas tua' [My Father, if this chalice may not pass away, but I must drink it, thy will be done] (Matthew 26:42).

143 'nolite flere super me filie Jerusalem, sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros': Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 32r. See: 'filiae Hierusalem nolite flere super me sed super vos ipsas flete et super filios vestros' [Daughters of Jerusalem, weep not over me ; but weep for yourselves, and for your children] (Luke 23:28).

144 Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 28.

145 Breydenbach, for example, notes the place where St Peter fished: 'locus … vbi sanctus Petrus piscationis officio vacabat'. Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 27v. Larke at this point adds Christ's instruction to Peter, 'sequere me' (John 1:43): Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 16.

146 Mary C. Erler, 'Devotional Literature', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 498.

147 Lutton, 'Piety and Cultural Change', 51.

and standard Church practice. The anonymous author of the *Information* also gives all his scriptural quotes in Latin. The availability of *Peregrinatio* in England, made possible because of the technology of print, and the resultant continental book trade, has essentially made it possible for Larke to include a small number of biblical quotations in English. He is translating Breydenbach's text, rather than scripture itself. The situation was otherwise in Germany: eighteen German-language Bibles were printed before Luther's.[148] Breydenbach generally renders scriptural quotations in German when writing in German, and Arnold von Harff is also content to quote scripture in his own dialect. Indeed, two of the pre-Reformation German Bibles were in fact printed in Cologne in Low German.[149]

Thomas Larke's use of Bernhard von Breydenbach's text, though, is only one link in a printed chain that begins with Hans Tucher. Again, it is clear that Breydenbach's innovation is not in printing an account of his travels, nor even in printing it in German, since a comparison of Breydenbach's text with Tucher's, once again using the description of the Valley of Josaphat and the Mount of Olives as an illustrative example, reveals an extremely close textual correlation: all of Tucher's details are included, with a few additional points.[150] The information that St Helena built a bridge over the Kidron, for example, does not come from Tucher.[151] Breydenbach's inclusion of this element then finds its way into Thomas Larke's text. Breydenbach goes through precisely the same process with Tucher's text as Larke goes through with his some decades later: he produces a direct translation, adding some observations of his own. Breydenbach's choice of source is crucial here. He had access to several other pilgrimage accounts, including the Latin manuscript made by his fellow traveller, Paul Walther von Guglingen, as explored in Chapter 2. Guglingen's text was neither printed nor widely circulated in manuscript. Breydenbach's decision to replicate a published description of the holy sites, rather than an unknown one, demonstrates the importance of publicly re-presenting the same experience of pilgrimage, as well as the fact that originality was not a virtue. Although it can be assumed, since he used both texts at various points, that both Guglingen's and Tucher's accounts were equally easily available to him, his use of the published text written by a stranger, rather than the text

[148] Füssel, *Gutenberg und seine Wirkung*, 110.

[149] The printer was probably Bartholomäus von Unkel: Füssel, *Gutenberg und seine Wirkung*, 108. As William Wey does not include any scriptural quotations in any language in his English section, his approach to the subject cannot be ascertained. This may, however, be indicative of a similar unease, as he quotes from the Vulgate in his Latin description (see, for example: William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Libraries, 1470), fol. 22v; Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857), 35.

[150] Herz, *Tucher der Ältere*, 421–27.

[151] Herz, *Tucher der Ältere*, 422.

written by an acquaintance and fellow traveller,[152] makes a statement about the importance of sharing the same experience of pilgrimage. By translating Tucher's already widely known German text into Latin, Breydenbach makes it internationally available, ultimately culminating in its translation into a number of languages, including French and Spanish.[153] Although *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* was never translated in full into English, Larke made its generic sections (and therefore also Tucher's generic sections) available to other English speakers. From its first printing in 1482, Tucher's descriptions of sites in the Holy Land thus spread across Europe and into various European vernaculars. This was thanks to a combination of factors: print technology; medieval attitudes towards re-presenting (not simply representing) pilgrimage; and also to Latin's continuing status as an international language. In England, although Tucher's text had come in the form of Breydenbach's rather deluxe (and doubtless expensive) book, Larke's version was printed in a much smaller, and therefore presumably far cheaper book, which would have been more accessible to the 'slechten leyen' [uneducated lay people] or 'rudes' [simple people] than Breydenbach's own publications, whether German or Latin.[154] His own stated purpose, therefore, continued to be realised.

The tradition does not stop with Thomas Larke, but continues with Richard Torkington's account of his pilgrimage. Torkington's text draws heavily on the textual tradition to which Tucher, Breydenbach, and Larke belong. It is quite clear that his direct source, however, was not *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam*, but *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde* and, to a lesser extent, the *Information for Pilgrims*. E. Gordon Duff, writing in 1893, noted Torkington's use of these previous English texts, as well as Larke's use of Breydenbach, but not Breydenbach's use of Tucher, observation of which has generally been confined to German criticism. Moreover, Duff did not examine the implications of the practice of copying the works of other pilgrims, whether conceptual or, beyond noting textual availability, practical.[155] Torkington's reuse of Thomas Larke's text is rather striking. The visit to the Valley of Josaphat is once again a useful illustration.[156] Torkington echoes Larke's phrasing almost precisely:

> And so firste we come to Torrens Cedron, which in somer tyme is drye, and in wynter, and specyally in Lent, it is meruaylously flowen with rage of water (Larke)

[152] M. Sollweck, ed., *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam* (Tübingen, 1892), 271–75.

[153] Davies, *Breydenbach: A Bibliography*, viii.

[154] Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 290; Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 57r.

[155] Duff, *Information*, xi–xii.

[156] Loftie, *Richard Torkington*, 27; Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 31.

> And fyrst we cam to Torrens Cedron, which in somer tyme is Drye, And in wynter, and specially in lente, it ys marvelows flowyng with rage of watir (Torkington)

Where Larke's text then briefly diverges from Breydenbach's text, Torkington copies it, word for word:

> that comyth with grete vyolence thrugh the vale of Josophat, and it rennyth bytwene the cytie and the Mounte of Olyuete, and is called, as byfore, torrens Cedron (Larke)

> that comyth with Grett violence thorow the vale of Josophat. And it renne be twyne the Citee and the Mounte of Olivete. And it ys callyd as it ys be for Torrens Cedron (Torkington)

Just as Larke did, when copying Breydenbach, Torkington alters the order of certain elements, inserting before an even more truncated description of the Tomb of the Virgin Mary, for example, the explanation that the Valleys of Josaphat and Siloam are one continuing valley, and a description of the tomb of Absalom. The description is exactly as it appears in the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, but in that text it follows the description of the Mount of Olives. At each stage of transmission – from Tucher to Breydenbach to Larke to Torkington – some slight variation is introduced. The variations in this case are, however, rather limited. The sections copied by Torkington even include apparently personal responses: Larke's description of the manner in which the party departed from Jerusalem is repeated by Torkington:

> with ryght lyghte and joyous hertes, by warnynge of our drogemen and guydes (Larke)

> with ryghth light and Joyous hertis, by warnyng of our Dragman and guydes (Torkington)[157]

This seems to be a stage beyond the generic first-person reactions copied from Breydenbach by Larke, as illustrated, for example, in their description of Jerusalem:

> I sawe neuer cytie nor other place haue so fayre prospectes (Larke)

> Nec vidi ciuitatem siue locum qui pulciorem habet prospectum (Breydenbach)[158]

> [Nor have I seen a city or a place with such a beautiful view]

Duff reads this as one 'of the more personal observations',[159] whereas in fact it appears more as an expected and standard response to the grandeur of

[157] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 56; Loftie, *Richard Torkington*, 55.
[158] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 22; Breydenbach, *Peregrinatio* (1486), fol. 29r.
[159] Duff, *Information*, xi.

one of the holiest sites a pilgrim could expect to see. Torkington exceeds this standard repetition, and ensures that his reactions to minor everyday events are consistent with those of other pilgrims. Simply put, it seems that one pilgrim's response can be expected to be the same as any other's. This similarity is consistent with Wey's description in *Materia* 8 of the 'diversis locis sanctis visitandis a peregrinis, et eorum nominibus, et indulgenciis istis locis concessis, cum versibus de istis locis factis' [the various places to be visited by pilgrims, and their names, and the indulgences granted in these places, with the prayers to be done there]. Materia 8, we will remember, is in fact an account of his own pilgrimage with the tense changed (from past to future), and a very small number of details removed.[160] His repetition implies that the pilgrimage experience will be essentially the same, no matter who is taking part. Wey's view is illustrated more generally by the chain of transmission of Tucher's (and therefore, as they travelled together, and seemingly collaborated on their accounts, also the younger Rieter's) experience of the holy places, beginning with their translation into Latin in Bernhard von Breydenbach's text, as well as their reappearance in his German text, their first English appearance – via Latin – as translated by Thomas Larke, and then their further transmission in English, as represented by Richard Torkington's text. This is a variation on the tendency of many translated texts to shake off their Latin past and follow their own course.[161] In this case, the words shake off both their German and Latin pasts, and ultimately become part of an English tradition. This loose relationship with an author became a feature of printed translated literature, but it had always been true of pilgrimage writing, and printing speeded up the process.[162] The chain, from its German beginnings with the elder Rieter all the way to Torkington, travels mostly in print, but ultimately concludes in manuscript form. While Torkington's account was copied at least twice,[163] wide transmission of the particular younger Rieter/Tucher–Breydenbach–Larke–Torkington textual tradition only occurs in its printed form.

[160] Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 19v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 30.

[161] [In vielen Bereichen der Übersetzungsliteratur gelang es den Texten, ihre lateinische Vergangenheit abzuschütteln und ein eigenes Leben zu führen] Nigel F. Palmer, 'Zum Nebeneinander von Volkssprache und Latein in spätmittelalterlichen Texten', in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart, 1984), 579.

[162] Deanna Shemek has described 'the translation zone' as 'a kind of Creative Commons, where translators could legitimately morph, occupy, sample, and re-frame texts, sometimes eliding from view entirely the identity of the source author': Deanna Shemek, 'Conclusion', in *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture*, ed. Andrea Rizzi (Leiden, 2017), 256. Though it is not her focus, this is particularly true of printed and translated pilgrimage writing.

[163] Loftie, *Richard Torkington*, ii.

The proliferation of books, once printing was established, vastly increased accessibility to the textual space of Jerusalem, and *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* plays a further documented role in this. Robert Langton recommends 'mayster Larkes boke' on the subject of the Holy Land to his audience, assuring them that those who read Larke's account of his pilgrimage 'shalle seme rather to se it then rede it'.[164] Indeed, Langton suggests that Larke's text was at least as important as his actual experiences in forming his 'knowlege' of his own pilgrimage: 'to me and other englysshe pylgrymes that went this yere it was a grete light guyde and conducte by the whiche we knewe many thinges that by the freres [friars] there we sholde not haue knowen'.[165] The printed tradition of representation of the Franciscan pilgrimage has by this point become so strong that it is able to compensate for any communication failures on the part of the living, breathing Franciscan friars who guided Langton's pilgrimage. In the case of this work, Jerusalem is brought home in a visual sense to an audience who will never see it in reality, by an author who, despite apparently having travelled to Jerusalem, privileges a textual pilgrimage, and who has traced the source of his information as far as Larke – but who knows nothing of the chain extending back to Germany behind him. This seems to mark the end of this printed tradition of writing the Holy Land.

By looking at the effects of print culture on Tucher's descriptions of the holy sites, we therefore arrive at a reading of the similarities between accounts that is an alternative to Brefeld's. Scott Westrem rightly questions the assumption of 'the existence of "a prototype guide[book]" … a work that can be spoken of in the singular',[166] and by following the transmission via print of one particular tradition of description of the sites in question, we can conclude that, in this case at least, these pilgrims were copying one another, rather than a single guidebook. The existence of a guidebook is not, of course, precluded, but the late Middle Ages bear witness to pilgrims building on a growing bank of received knowledge about pilgrimage to the Holy Land – even if that knowledge appears to a modern audience to be repetitive. This was knowledge available to them before they departed, as well as upon their return.

Conclusion: Six Degrees of Pilgrimage Separation

Carla Meyer, when considering Hans Tucher's *Reise ins gelobte Land*, asks 'Do the medieval pilgrims' accounts tell us something about Jerusalem or do they tell us more about Nuremberg?'[167] The answer is neither – they tell us about

[164] Before Lutton's identification of Thomas Larke as Richard Guylforde's anonymous chaplain, R. N. Swanson had already concluded that Larke's book must have been a printed work, given this recommendation: R. N. Swanson, *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007), 389.

[165] Blackie, *Robert Langton*, 3.

[166] Westrem, 'Guidebook', 116.

[167] Meyer, 'New Methods', 28.

how one should depict the Jerusalem pilgrimage, which is quite different from telling us about Jerusalem, although it may have something to do with telling us about the pilgrims' culture of origin. This, though, is much broader than Nuremberg; it is representative of an international religious culture. Analysis of descriptions of the holy places in William Wey's *Itineraries*, Bernhard von Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (both as it appeared in Latin and in German), the *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff*, and the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*, as well as other related texts – in this case those compiled by Hans Tucher, Sebald Rieter (primarily the son), and Richard Torkington, as well as Régine Pernoud's Mount Sion manuscript, the *Information for Pilgrims*, and Robert Langton's account – reveals a fairly formulaic way of depicting pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land at the close of the Middle Ages, shared across print and manuscript culture. It is an approach that is notably similar, even in those texts that are not part of the particular textual tradition of Tucher at al. Print, however, plays a significant role in representation of the Holy Land. The availability of printed books enabled a new and greater conformity of experience, and a particularly concrete way to share religious culture across international borders. The international book trade, along with Latin as an internationally understood language, made sharing that religious culture more practicable. This is as clear in Caxton's production in Cologne of Latin religious books with English associations for the German market,[168] as it is in English imports of continental Latin books. In both cases, religious culture is shared relatively quickly across geographical boundaries through the medium of print.

In the specific case of the relationship between Breydenbach and Larke, it is possible to see the enormous extent of influence that was possible for a printed work. Bernhard von Breydenbach's 'buchlyn' was an early printed bestseller. It was translated widely, and was therefore received internationally, both as a vernacular book and as a Latin text accessible even in countries like England, where it was not translated (in full). Its woodcuts meant that elements of it were accessible to the 'slechten leyen' without an intermediary, encouraging laity of all social classes – as we saw in Chapter 2 – to improve their conduct and be faithful to the Church. Its Latin edition, meanwhile, aimed at the clergy, makes pointed suggestions about reform that are not made available to a non-Latinate lay audience. Not in itself original, as we understand the word today, *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* strongly influenced the accounts of pilgrimage that followed it, and through its partial transmission in texts like the *Pylgrymage of Richard Guylforde* it continued to influence pilgrim writers divorced from the context of the canon from Mainz Cathedral. Since its structure bears a resemblance to the guidebooks kept at Mount Sion, it also

[168] These included Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De proprietatibus rerum*, Walter Burley's *De vita philosophorum* and the *Gesta Romanorum*: N. F. Blake, *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London and Rio Grande, 1991), 80.

brought elements of these texts, not to mention Breydenbach's other sources, into a more widely accessible form. Bernhard von Breydenbach's book illustrates how quickly and how widely a text could travel once it was in print.

The *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* manifests various key aspects of the particular character of English printing, and of English print culture's relationship with the continental book trade. Thomas Larke's book, whatever the precise circumstances that led to its publication, is typical of the type of book printed in England – a vernacular English book that could not have been obtained via the trade in books from the continent. Equally, however, while it could not have been imported from elsewhere, its contents could not have been compiled without the widespread availability of imported Latin continental books in England – in this case, one Latin German book in particular. And in common with that book, Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio*, any reforming impulses are kept very much within the scope of institutional Church orthodoxy. Moreover, the *Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde* illustrates the use of printed books more generally, both through Larke's reception of a printed pilgrimage text, and through the later use of his own printed book by Sir Richard Torkington and Robert Langton. Indeed, Torkington's use of Larke's text, and Harff's use of Breydenbach's, bear witness to the complementary relationship between print and manuscript in the period.

In each successive use of the words in Tucher's text, their ownership is transferred. Other than in Langton's case, there are no references to the previous writers in whose texts those words appeared. The descriptions are appropriated to depict each experience in the Holy Land, and there is no way to separate any one pilgrim's experience from that of other pilgrims. Even though Langton makes reference to Larke, the fact that he allows Larke's text to supersede his own lived experience demonstrates his acceptance of the universality of the pilgrimage experience. To return to the Franciscans resident in Mount Sion, whose role it was to take care of pilgrim groups, these men did their best to ensure that all pilgrims, no matter their origin, had effectively the same experience of pilgrimage – staying in the same places, travelling in groups, visiting holy sites in essentially the same order, having access to the same texts in the library – but it also seems that the pilgrims themselves were keen to depict their experience of pilgrimage as corresponding to that described by previous pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their experiences of pilgrimage are, therefore, re-presented rather than represented. Meanwhile, the concurrent Franciscan promotion of the Stations of the Cross suggests an additional attempt by the order to control and homogenise the Jerusalem pilgrimage, both literally and virtually.[169] The pilgrims' shared religious experience is emphasised at both ends of the pilgrimage – by the

[169] F. L. Cross, ed., 'Stations of the Cross', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), 1538–39. See Introduction.

Franciscan guides in the Holy Land, and by the pilgrim writers at home. Print made this much easier. Duff's statement, 'Each successive writer plagiarised freely from his predecessors' shows a fundamental misunderstanding of what the pilgrims were aiming to achieve.[170] Wes Williams is closer to the truth: 'Impersonal repetition of another's trajectory is, for many pilgrims, the essence of the experience.'[171] Rather than an inability, or an unwillingness, to produce an original text, in this repeated rewriting of older experiences we can read a desire to present a unity of experience. The pilgrimage writings explored in this chapter are all ultimately linked by textual reuse enabled by print. With the availability of printed books, Jerusalem became more widely textually accessible and representations of it were therefore able broadly to conform, thus ensuring its authenticity as a conceptual space. The extent of the spread of print culture by the early sixteenth century, as well as Latin's status as an international language, made it possible to present something more than an internationally shared religious culture – a single unified pilgrimage experience in a consistent Jerusalem, accessible across time and borders.

[170] Duff, *Information*, xi.
[171] Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 53.

Conclusion: Ways To Be A Pilgrim

Taken together, the writings of William Wey, Bernhard von Breydenbach, Arnold von Harff, and Thomas Larke illustrate simultaneously the diversity and the consistency to be found across national boundaries in the corpus of western European pilgrimage writing in the late Middle Ages. They display the shared religious culture that operated at the centre of Christendom and on its borders, demonstrating both those aspects of the pilgrim experience that had to be consistent – the entry into the conceptual space at the heart of the pilgrimage – and equally the breadth of style, form, experience, and information that can be found within the corpus, understood as a hybrid genre. The variety present across these four works makes their formulaic aspects all the more remarkable. This variety, indeed, can be present even within one text. Wey demonstrates diversity of form in his trialling of genre and text type, and he shows a desire to collect as much information as possible on different Christian topics in order to complement his own repeated pilgrimages, even attempting to harmonise the real and conceptual Jerusalems. Breydenbach uses his text as an opportunity to preach and to attempt to repair the problems he sees in western Christendom, both by means of positive identity formation and by marginalisation of the other. Harff uses his text as an opportunity to witness, virtually, the wonders of the East, and his literal pilgrimage as an opportunity to know and learn about the novelties, secular and religious, which he encounters on the way. Larke, like Wey, seeks to convey religious knowledge and, like Harff, he travels textually as well as literally in the course of his writing. Unlike Harff, however, the travel is exclusively religious, and unlike Wey, the information is all on one theme – he aims to record as many pilgrimage sites as possible. All four texts then come together in style and atmosphere in their encounters with the holy places.

At least some of the variety present in these writings can be traced to their different geographical origins. This is often a matter of the historical circumstances of late-medieval Germany and England. The absence of Jews in contemporary English life affects their textual treatment by English pilgrims. For Wey and for Larke, they are figures mostly consigned to history, and, where they appear in the contemporary world, they are a novelty. Mestre is

worth Larke's pointing out, simply because it is 'where the Jews dwell',[1] while Wey lists a conversation with a Jew as one of a series of unusual events that distinguish the English pilgrims.[2] Though the 'virtual Jew' of Wey's *Itineraries* and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* have much in common, in Breydenbach's understanding he is addressing a contemporary situation, while Wey includes antisemitic anecdotes about past occurrences. And a certain conservatism or caution can be detected in the English accounts – in Wey's reluctance to discuss contemporary English politics during the Wars of the Roses, for example. Similarly, presumably mindful of the spectre of Wycliffitism, both he and Larke avoid quoting Scripture in the vernacular – Larke more obviously, though his translations from Breydenbach allow him to do so indirectly. But this is a parochial concern. Wycliffitism, though it had an influence across Europe, was often understood as a national problem – 'England's first home-grown heresy'[3] – and Larke's strategy is simply to avoid it. Both he and Wey are responding to the circumstances of life in a (relatively) small, unified, and centralised country. Breydenbach and Harff, writing from the large and disparate Holy Roman Empire, appear more engaged with the world beyond – even if they respond to it in entirely different ways. Breydenbach directly addresses and tackles a need for reform in the local and international Church,[4] albeit in a rather bloodthirsty fashion. In Harff, we have a figure hungry for new experiences, who openly expresses scepticism about duplicate or otherwise dubious relics, to the point of demanding that the Church authorities in Santiago allow him to examine the body of the saint.[5] Larke's mild reforming impetus could never approach such confrontation. Our German pilgrims, though confident in their belonging within the Roman Church, are closer to the oncoming reform movement – and it is worth remembering that our more cautious English pilgrims belonged to a society that would initially reject the German Lutheran Reformation.

Yet geographical difference is only a small part of the picture. Kathryne Beebe describes Felix Fabri's writings as 'works of individuality and deep medieval religious sensibility'.[6] This cannot be straightforwardly said of our four texts, for they frequently bear witness to a kind of tension between individuality

1 Henry Ellis, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851), 9.

2 William Wey, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470), fol. 100r; Bulkeley Bandinel, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857), 154.

3 Helen Cooper and Sally Mapstone, eds, *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford, 1997), 4.

4 Isolde Mozer, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010), e.g. 498, 502.

5 E. von Groote, ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860), 233.

6 Kathryne Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014), 218.

and religious sensibility. The authors focus to a greater or lesser extent on their own individual activities and sense of self. Wey, Breydenbach, and Harff explicitly state their authorship and their ownership of their pilgrimages, while Larke's very anonymity sets him apart from this attitude. He does not take ownership of the pilgrimage that he narrates; insofar as it belongs to any one person, it belongs to his dead master. Wey and Breydenbach are linked by their consistent understanding of their own identities as religious. They, like Larke, known until recently only as Richard Guylforde's chaplain, understand their place in the world through the prism of their clerical position. Harff first defines himself in purely secular terms. It is as a knight, understood at least partially in a literary sense, that he embarks on his pilgrimage. At the outset, he states that he is a knight by birth,[7] and he collects further knighthoods on his travels, being made a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre,[8] and later being knighted in Paris.[9] He of course understands himself as a Christian, but his self-presentation focuses on his noble, worldly position. The coming together of his religious and worldly identities at the Holy Sepulchre is symbolic, but it requires no discernible change in his interests.

At various points and to differing degrees, all of the authors subordinate their own identity to that of the pilgrim group, in particular when they visit the holy places. Collective identity, in fact, is an equally important aspect of these narratives, for it concerns both the pilgrim group and the audiences. Breydenbach makes the most explicit statements about collective religious identity, although its importance is present in different ways throughout the other texts. Each author reaches out to his audiences and incorporates them into his own religious collective: Wey suggests that Muslims could convert 'to our faith'; Breydenbach extols the glories of 'our true belief'; Harff writes of the beliefs of 'us Latins'; and Larke refers to 'our Catholic Church'.[10] Wey, Harff, and Larke largely take it for granted that their audiences share their religious identity, but Breydenbach devotes a substantial proportion of his text to ensuring that they subscribe to what he understands as correct religion, and that what is outside that religion is clearly defined and identified as a threat. That threat, in turn, is then utilised as a tool to promote internal Church reform.

The expectation (or in Breydenbach's case, enforcement) of shared religious identity is only one aspect of the relationship between the authors and their audiences – actual, intended, or anything in between. Pilgrimage writing has a plurality of uses – practical, instructive, and devotional – and a corresponding

7 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 1.

8 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 173–74.

9 von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 245.

10 Wey, MS Bodl. 565, fol. 61v; Bandinel, *Wey: Itineraries*, 99; Mozer, *Breydenbach: Peregrinatio*, 420; von Groote, *Harff: Pilgerfahrt*, 198; Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 23.

plurality of potential audiences. There is, naturally, a certain overlap between these audiences: reading a pilgrimage account for practical purposes does not preclude also reading it for instructive and devotional purposes. Arnold von Harff's text gives a particularly clear indication of the variety of uses for, and information in, a text ostensibly about one man's pilgrimage, and an individual audience member could easily have had all three purposes in mind. The desire to know and learn takes many forms within this hybrid genre of writing and reading. A pilgrimage text is a story about the audience(s) as much as it is about the author(s): their understanding of the pilgrimage experience would be fundamentally shaped by the texts that they read or heard, or whose pictures they saw. The shared, conceptual space of pilgrimage is created as much for the audience's benefit as in order to rewrite the author's own pilgrimage to conform to a uniform experience. This was particularly true for those virtual pilgrims for whom reading and meditating was their way into the pilgrimage space. Beebe describes virtual pilgrimage as 'an act of contemplative crusade [by which] they claimed Jerusalem and the holy sites for their communities; for their convents; for their towns; for themselves',[11] and the role of pilgrimage accounts in bringing Jerusalem home cannot be overstated. Nonetheless, crusade may not be the most appropriate image. Breydenbach, for example, is in search of crusade, but in a literal sense, not a contemplative one. He seeks to reclaim the literal Jerusalem for western Christianity. There are, however, no limits on the conceptual 'meme' Jerusalem. It is available to all pilgrims, literal and virtual, of every kind, without the exclusivity suggested by crusade (or the exclusivity Breydenbach aims to create in his use of textual space). Through the text, as well as through other forms of replication, such as Wey's Jerusalem chapel, Jerusalem can be brought to many homes across Europe.[12] And as Wey's book, sitting in its Wiltshire Jerusalem, demonstrates, the authors themselves are not excluded from virtual pilgrimage. Writing about one's literal pilgrimage could be the gateway into conducting the pilgrimage again textually, whether in the form of repeated description of a pilgrimage, perhaps in the company of one's audience, as in Wey's account, or in Larke's process of composition, which requires meditating upon and re-presenting Breydenbach's pilgrimage directly. A further engagement with virtual pilgrimage is evident in Larke's writing, for he tells his audience: 'I will write more about this island at my coming homeward',[13] a phrasing which implies that, as he writes about his pilgrimage, in a virtual sense he

[11] Beebe, *Pilgrim and Preacher*, 218.

[12] Wey's chapel, containing his book, corresponds in a sense to Mary Carruthers' analysis of monastic life as encouraging brothers to view 'stone and image and liturgy as a set of gathering places that can resonate in memory': Mary Carruthers, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34 (Cambridge, 1998), 276.

[13] Ellis, *Guylforde (Larke): Pylgrymage*, 15.

participates in it again. His coming homeward itself is placed in the future – not simply the act of writing about his coming homeward, although this second homeward journey will be accompanied by writing. All four pilgrims are both audience and composer, as they rely on the words of pilgrims who have gone before. Authenticity is to be found in repetition.

Thus we arrive at the key to pilgrimage writing: that the heart of the pilgrimage – the visits to the holy sites – must be portrayed as a single, unified experience. As we have seen, this was, in many ways, part of a concerted attempt by the Franciscans to mediate, or control, the Jerusalem pilgrimage. This included both the physical experience in the Holy Land, through guides and shared accommodation, and the meditative pilgrim experience at home, perhaps through replica Jerusalems, including those embodied by the proto-Stations of the Cross. Physical pilgrims contributed to this drive by textually bringing this consistent experience home, inspired partially by their routine experiences in Jerusalem and their use of the same library at Mount Sion, and further encouraged by the similarities between pilgrim texts accessed in Europe, particularly once printed accounts became widespread. The technology that would soon spread the writings of the reformers was only a few decades earlier underpinning religious conformity: with the advent of print, it became far easier to present a consistent textual Jerusalem. While both literal and virtual pilgrims are witnesses to a place's important moments in salvation history, they do not consciously experience different levels of time. They stand in the Church built over the Holy Sepulchre, or in the fifteenth-century Kidron Valley, detached from the associations of contemporary reality, and yet the events that gave those sites significance remain firmly anchored in the distant past. Pilgrimage serves a quasi-liturgical function, and in its textual incarnation that is yet more apparent. Because one is essentially removed from reality to enter the conceptual space, all pilgrimages to holy sites can be essentially the same, just as every experience of the Mass can be essentially the same. The conceptual Jerusalem becomes a unique space, situated outside the ordinary constraints of time and geography, and yet universally accessible.

Appendix: Selected German and English Jerusalem Pilgrim Writers

England[1]

	Pilgrim	Details	Printed
1454	Richard of Lincoln	His journey to Jerusalem, written in Middle English, is contained in a fifteenth-century English medical and astrological compendium. Edition: Francis Davey (tran.), *Richard of Lincoln: A Medieval Doctor Travels to Jerusalem (*Exeter, 2013).	
1470	**William Wey**	Travelled 1458 and 1462 (Jerusalem) and 1456 (Santiago). One surviving manuscript witness. Edition: Bulkeley Bandinel (ed.), *The Itineraries of William Wey*, (London, 1857).	

[1] Modern editions are listed where available. This appendix is not intended to be an exhaustive list of pilgrims from Germany and England in the period, but is intended to outline the context in which the four key pilgrims (emboldened) were travelling). Attempts to produce full lists of medieval European pilgrims have been made elsewhere, most notably in recent decades in the form of Jörg Wettlaufer and others, *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: eine analytische Bibliographie*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Kieler Werkstücke, 3 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1994). This work treats pilgrims from France, Germany, and the Low Countries. In addition, Wettlaufer and Paravicini have put together an online database listing travellers from Italy, England, and Russia (an Irish pilgrim is included amongst those from England), as well as from those regions covered by the printed bibliography: Jörg Wettlaufer and Werner Paravicini, 'European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages', *European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages*, 2014 <http://www.digiberichte.de/> [accessed 26 March 2020]. Ursula Ganz-Blättler also provides a thorough list of profiles of fourteenth- to sixteenth-century pilgrims in her *Andacht und Abenteuer*, 39–93.

1470	William Brewyn	This book describes Brewyn's pilgrimages in Rome, but the index includes an itinerary of pilgrimages to be made (which is to say, not physically made by Brewyn) in the Holy Land. The relevant pages have been removed. Edition (partial): C. Eveleigh Woodruff (ed., tran.), *A XVth. Century guide book to the principal churches of Rome compiled ca. 1470 by William Brewyn*, (London, 1933).
After 1480	Anonymous	Oxford, Queen's College, MS 357 contains an English and a Latin account of the Jerusalem pilgrimage, apparently aimed at virtual pilgrims.[2] The English account also appears in London, British Library, Harley MS 2333, while the Latin account is similar to that in Versailles, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS L. 0097 (Lebaudy 8° 052). Edition (English account): Josephie Brefeld (ed.), 'An Account of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101/2 (1985), 134–55. Edition (Latin account, based on the Versailles manuscript): Règine Pernoud, *Un guide du pèlerin de Terre-Sainte au XVe siècle* (Mantes, 1940).
Late fifteenth century	Anonymous	Manchester, John Rylands Library, Latin MS 228 may represent the itinerary of a real pilgrimage, although nothing of certainty can be said.[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 61 (c.1500) and San Marino, CA, Henry Huntington Library HM 144 (fifteenth/sixteenth century), for example, contain a poem, *The Stasyons of Ierusalem*, with superficial similarities to Wey's Middle English verse, but there is no indication that the poem is intended for anything but meditation. No modern edition.

[2] Rudy, 'Queen's College, MS 357', 219.

[3] Anthony Bale, '"Fro Baffe to Jaffe": A Fifteenth-Century Itinerary from Venice to Jaffa and the River Jordan', *Pilgrim Libraries: Books & Reading on the Medieval Routes to Rome & Jerusalem*, 2017 <http://www.bbk.ac.uk/pilgrimlibraries/2017/07/26/rylands/> [accessed 18 April 2019].

1498	Anonymous	*The Information for Pilgrims* was printed by Wynkyn de Worde and seems to be based in part on William Wey's writings. Edition: E. Gordon Duff (ed.), *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London, 1893).	1498
1511	**Thomas Larke**	Travelled 1506–07. Anonymous author of *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*. Only one copy of Richard Pynson's printing now survives. Edition: Henry Ellis (ed.), *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851).	1511
1517	Richard Torkington	Norfolk priest who wrote an account of his pilgrimage that draws heavily on Larke's. Edition: W. J. Loftie (ed.), *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517* (London, 1884).	
1522	Robert Langton	Langton went on pilgrimages to Compostela, Rome, and Jerusalem, and cites Larke's book as a crucial source for descriptions of the Holy Land. Edition: E. M. Blackie, *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (Berlin, Boston, 1924, reprinted 2014)	1522

Germany

	Pilgrim	**Details**	**Printed**
c.1450	Jörg Mülich	Wrote in German. Three manuscripts survive, including a probable autograph. Edition: Ulrich Seelbach (ed.), *Jörg Mülich. Beschreibung der heiligen Stätten zu Jerusalem und Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem* (Göppingen, 1993).	
1464	Sebald Rieter (senior)	Travelled with his son Andreas. His father, Peter, and grandfather, Hans, had been to the Holy Land in 1384 and 1436 respectively. Sebald also travelled to Rome in 1450 and Santiago in 1462. Edition: Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds), *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (Tübingen, 1884), 10–36.	

1470	Ulrich Brunner	Gave indulgences as his reason for travelling ('pro indulgentiis') and wrote in German. Edition: Reinhold Röhricht (ed.), 'Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brunner vom Haugstift in Würzburg (1470)', *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* (1878–1945), 29.1 (1906), 1–50.	
1479	Sebald Rieter (junior)	Travelled with Hans Tucher, but his account circulated only within the family, surviving in a single manuscript. Edition: Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds), *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (Tübingen, 1884), 36–149.	
1480 onwards	Felix Fabri	Fabri travelled to the Holy Land in 1480 and 1483–84 and produced four versions of his travels: the *Pilgerbüchlein* (German, from his first journey); the *Evagatorium* (Latin); the *Pilgerbuch* (German, from both his first and second journeys); and the *Sionpilger* (German, a virtual pilgrimage). Editions: *Pilgerbüchlein*: Anton Birlinger (ed.), *Bruder Felix Fabers gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein* (Munich, 1864). *Evagatorium*: Konrad Dietrich Hassler (ed.), *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 3 vols (Stuttgart, 1843). *Sionpilger*: Wieland Carls (ed.), *Felix Fabri. Die Sionpilger* (Berlin, 1999).	1556 (*Pilgerbuch*)
1482	Hans Tucher	Travelled with Sebald Rieter, and they seem to have collaborated on their accounts. Edition: Randall Herz (ed.), *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480): Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* (Wiesbaden, 2002).	1482

c. 1483	Paul Walther von Guglingen	Travelled with Felix Fabri, Bernhard von Breydenbach et al. Wrote in Latin. Edition (*Itinerary and selected extracts from his Treatise*): M. Sollweck (ed.), *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam* (Tübingen, 1892).	
c. 1483	Georg von Gumppenberg	Went on pilgrimage in 1483 and joined up with the Breydenbach-Fabri group. Wrote his short description of the Holy Sepulchre in German. The surviving (autograph) manuscript is dated 1512. Edition: Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds), 'Georg von Gumppenberg', *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, (Berlin, 1880), 115–19.	
1483	Konrad Beck	Wrote a German account of his pilgrimage. His autograph, which was bound by his grandson, survives.[4] No modern edition.	
1486	**Benhard von Breydenbach**	Travelled 1482. His enormously influential account was published in German and Latin, repeatedly reprinted, and translated into Low German/Flemish/Dutch, French, and Spanish. Edition: Isolde Mozer (ed.), *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010). No modern edition of the Latin text.	1486
1486	Konrad Grünemberg	Grünemberg's German-language *Bericht über die Pilgerfahrt ins Heilige Land* survives in four manuscripts. Edition: Andrea Denke (ed.), *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486, Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar* (Berlin, Boston, 2011).	
1492	Peter Fassbender	Travelled from Koblenz and his account, which draws on Breydenbach and Tucher, survives only in one manuscript. Edition: Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner (eds), *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), 246–77.	

[4] Stefan Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri* (Berlin, 2009), 86, n. 193.

c. 1494	Anonymous	There are six surviving early seventeenth-century manuscripts of this text, which is viewed to be a collective work, although one manuscript claims it to be the work of one Reinhard von Bemmelberg. Edition: Gerhard Fouquet (ed.), *Die Reise eines niederadeligen Anonymus ins Heilige Land im Jahre 1494* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007).	
1497–98	Hans Schürpff	An alderman and mercenary. Schürpff's German account of his eventful journey survives in only one manuscript. Edition: Josef Schmid (ed.), *Luzerner und Innerschweizer Pilgerreisen zum Heiligen Grab vom 15. bis 17*. Jahrhundert (Lucerne, 1957), 1–36.	
1499	**Arnold von Harff**	Travelled 1496–99. Fifteen manuscript witnesses survived into the modern period. Images tend to be circulated with the text. Wrote in Middle Low German. Edition: E. von Groote (ed.), *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860).	
1507	Martin von Baumgartner	A knight whose account of his pilgrimage formed only part of his work. Wrote in Latin, and in 1522 became a Protestant and corresponded with Luther. Edition: Matthias Mayer (ed.), *Die Reise Ritter Martin Baumgartners von Breitenbach ins Heilige Land 1507 und sein Lebensbild* (Kuftstein, 1931).	1594
1510	Niklaus Wanckel	A Franciscan, whose account was printed seven years after composition, with the title *Ein kurtze vermerckung der heyligen stet des heyligen landts, in und umb Jerusalem, mit verzeychnung der mercklichsten ding in den selbigen geschehen. Auch wie nahent unnd verre ein stat von der andern sey.* No modern edition.	1517

1514	Hans von Sternberg	His *Reise nach Santiago de Compostela und Jerusalem im Jahr 1514* survives only in one manuscript. Sternberg was later personally associated with Luther. Edition: Rudolf Ehwald (ed.), 'Zwei Reiseberichte von Männern der Reformationszeit', in *Mitteilungen der Vereinigung für Gothaische Geschichte und Altertumsforschung 1920/1921*, 1–20, here 1–9.
1517	Bernhard von Hirschfeld	Wrote in German. Four manuscript witnesses. Edition: A. von Minckwitz (ed.), *Des Ritters Bernhard von Hirschfeld im Jahre 1517 unternommene und von ihm selbst beschriebene Wallfahrt zum heiligen Grabe* (Leipzig, 1856).

Bibliography

Primary Works

Manuscripts

London:

Cotton Vitellius C XIV (British Library)
Royal 7 C I (British Library)

Oxford:

von Harff, Arnold, MS Bodl. 972: 'The Travels of Arnolt van Harffe from Cologne to Italy, Egypt, Palestine and India, and back by Madagascar, the Upper Nile, Constantinople, and France, in 1496–99' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1554)
Wey, William, MS Bodl. 565: 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, 1470)

Early Printed Books

Breydenbach, Bernhard von, *Beuarden nach Jherusalem* (Mainz, 1488) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6 Q 5.21)
——, *Die fart oder reyß über mere zu dem heylige[n] grab* (Augsburg, 1488) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 5 Q 5.43)
——, *Die heyligen reyssen gen Jherusalem* (Mainz, 1486) (London, British Library IB.335)
——, *Peregrinatio [in terram sanctam]* (Mainz, 1486) (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Inc.c.G1.1486.1)
[Larke, Thomas], *This is the begynnynge and contynuaunce of the Pylgrymage of Sir Richarde Guylforde Knyght and controuler vnto our late soueraygne lorde kynge Henry the .vii. And howe he went with his seruauntes and company towardes Jherusalem.* (London, 1511) (London, British Library, British Library, G6719)

Editions (arranged alphabetically by author, and then by editor)

Bernhard von Breydenbach:

Bartolini, Gabriella, and Giulio Caporali, eds, trans, *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinationes. Un viaggiatore del Quattrocento a Gerusalemme e in Egitto* (Rome, 1999)

Geck, Elisabeth, ed., tran., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Die Reise ins Heilige Land* (Wiesbaden, 1961)
Mozer, Isolde, ed., *Bernhard von Breydenbach: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam* (Berlin, 2010)

Arnold von Harff:
Brall-Tuchel, Helmut, and Folker Reichert, eds, *Rom – Jerusalem – Santiago: das Pilgertagebuch des Ritters Arnold von Harff (1496–1498)* (Cologne, 2007)
von Groote, E., ed., *Die Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff* (Cologne, 1860)
Letts, Malcolm, tran., *The Pilgrimage of Arnold von Harff* (London, 1946)

Thomas Larke:
Ellis, Henry, ed., *The Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde to the Holy Land, A.D. 1506* (London, 1851)

William Wey:
Bandinel, Bulkeley, ed., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (London, 1857)
Davey, Francis, tran., *The Itineraries of William Wey* (Oxford, 2010)

Other Pilgrimage and Travel Writing (arranged alphabetically by author, and then by editor)

Anonymous
Brefeld, Josephie, ed., 'An Account of a Pilgrimage to Jerusalem', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 101/2 (1985), 134–55
Duff, E. Gordon, ed., *Information for Pilgrims unto the Holy Land* (London, 1893)
Fouquet, Gerhard, ed., *Die Reise eines niederadeligen Anonymus ins Heilige Land im Jahre 1494* (Frankfurt am Main, 2007)
Pernoud, Régine, *Un guide du pélerin de Terre-Sainte au XVe siècle* (Mantes, 1940)

Martin von Baumgartner
Mayer, Matthias, ed., *Die Reise Ritter Martin Baumgartners von Breitenbach ins Heilige Land 1507 und sein Lebensbild* (Kuftstein, 1931)

William Brewyn
Woodruff, C. Eveleigh, ed., tran., *A XVth. Century guide book to the principal churches of Rome compiled ca. 1470 by William Brewyn*, (London, 1933)

Ulrich Brunner
Röhricht, Reinhold, ed., 'Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brunner vom Haugstift in Würzburg (1470)', in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins (1878–1945)*, 29.1 (1906), 1–50

Hans Dernschwam
Babinger, Franz, ed., *Hans Dernschwams Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, Studien zur Fugger-Geschichte, 7 (Munich and Leipzig, 1923)

Felix Fabri

Birlinger, Anton, ed., *Bruder Felix Fabers gereimtes Pilgerbüchlein* (Munich, 1864)

Carls, Wieland, ed., *Felix Fabri. Die Sionpilger* (Berlin, 1999)

Hassler, Konrad Dietrich, ed., *Fratris Felicis Fabri Evagatorium in Terrae Sanctae, Arabiae et Egypti Peregrinationem*, 3 vols, Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, (Stuttgart, 1843)

Stewart, Aubrey, tran., *The Wanderings of Felix Fabri (Part 3) 1484 A.D.*, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 10 vols (London, 1897)

Peter Fassbender

Röhricht, Reinhold, and Heinrich Meisner, eds, 'Peter Fassbender', *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880), 246–77

Konrad Grünemberg

Denke, Andrea, ed., *Konrad Grünembergs Pilgerreise ins Heilige Land 1486, Untersuchung, Edition und Kommentar* (Berlin, Boston, 2011)

Georg von Gumppenberg

Röhricht, Reinhold, and Heinrich Meisner, eds, 'Georg von Gumppenberg', *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande*, (Berlin, 1880), 115–19

Bernhard von Hirschfeld

von Minckwitz, A., ed., *Des Ritters Bernhard von Hirschfeld im Jahre 1517 unternommene und von ihm selbst beschriebene Wallfahrt zum heiligen Grabe* (Leipzig, 1856)

Margery Kempe

Stanley, Lynn, ed., tran., *The Book of Margery Kempe* (New Haven and London, 2001)

Robert Langton

Blackie, E. M., *The Pilgrimage of Robert Langton* (London, 1924)

John Mandeville

Bale, Anthony, ed., tran., *The Book of Marvels and Travels* (Oxford, 2012)

Morrall, Eric, ed., *Sir John Mandevilles Reisebeschreibung in deutscher Übersetzung von Michel Velser*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, LXVI (Berlin, 1974)

Jörg Mülich

Seelbach, Ulrich, ed., *Jörg Mülich. Beschreibung der heiligen Stätten zu Jerusalem und Pilgerreise nach Jerusalem* (Göppingen, 1993)

Odoric of Pordenone

Strasmann, Gilbert, ed., *Konrad Steckels deutscher Übertragung der Reise nach China des Odorico de Pordenone*, Texte des späten Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit, 20 (Berlin, 1968)

Stephan Planck

Miedema, Nine Robijntje, *Rompilgerführer in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit:*

Die 'Indulgentiae ecclesiarium urbis Romae' (deutsch/niederländisch). Edition und Kommentar (Tübingen, 2003)

Marco Polo

von Tscharner, Horst, ed., *Der Mitteldeutsche Marco Polo*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters, 60 (Berlin, 1935)

Richard of Lincoln

Davey, Francis, tran., *Richard of Lincoln: A Medieval Doctor Travels to Jerusalem* (Exeter, 2013)

Rieter Family

Röhricht, Reinhold, and Heinrich Meisner, eds, *Das Reisebuch der Familie Rieter* (Tübingen, 1884)

Hans Schürpff

Schmid, Josef, ed., *Luzerner und Innerschweizer Pilgerreisen zum Heiligen Grab vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Lucerne, 1957), 1–36

Hans von Sternberg

Ehwald, Rudolf, ed., 'Zwei Reiseberichte von Männern der Reformationszeit', in *Mitteilungen der Vereinigung für Gothaische Geschichte und Altertumsforschung* 1920/1921, 1–20, here 1–9

Richard Torkington

Loftie, W. J., ed., *Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell: being the hitherto unpublished narrative of the Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington to Jerusalem in 1517* (London, 1884)

Hans Tucher

Herz, Randall, ed., *Die 'Reise ins gelobte Land' Hans Tuchers des Älteren (1479–1480): Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung und kritische Edition eines spätmittelalterlichen Reiseberichts* (Wiesbaden, 2002)

Paul Walther von Guglingen

Sollweck, M., ed., *Fratris Pauli Waltheri Guglingensis Itinerarium in Terram Sanctam et ad Sanctam Catharinam* (Tübingen, 1892)

Other Primary Texts (arranged alphabetically by author, and then by editor)

Peter Alfonsi

Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1854), CLVII

Anonymous

Bartsch, Karl, ed., *Herzog Ernst* (Vienna, 1869)

D'Evelyn, Charlotte, and Anna J. Mill, eds, *The South English Legendary*, 2 vols, Early English Text Society Original Series, 235–36 (London, 1956)

Thomas Aquinas

Gilby, Thomas, ed., *St Thomas Aquinas: Summa Theologiae*, 61 vols (London and New York, 1964–80)

Augustine

Knöll, Pius, ed., *St. Augustine's Confessions*, trans. William Watts, 2 vols, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1961)

Bernard of Clairvaux

Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1859), CLXXXII

Bible

The Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate [Douay-Rheims Translation, John Murphy Edition] (Baltimore, 1914)

Weber, Robert, Roger Gryson, B. Fischer, I. Gribomont, H. F. D. Sparks, and W. Thiele, eds, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, 5th edn (Stuttgart, 2007)

Sebastian Brant

Zarncke, Friedrich, *Sebastian Brants Narrenschiff* (Leipzig, 1854)

William Caxton

Blake, N. F., ed., *The History of Reynard the Fox*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 263 (London, 1970)

Desiderius Erasmus

Bartelink, G. J. M., and others, eds, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami*, 9 vols (Amsterdam, 1969–)

Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg

Bauer, Gerhard, ed., *Johannes Geiler von Kaysersberg: Sämtliche Werke*, 3 vols (Berlin, 1991)

Jean Gerson

Glorieux, Palémon, *Jean Gerson: Œuvres Complètes*, 10 vols (Paris, Tournai, Rome, New York, 1960)

Gregory of Nyssa

Silvas, Anna M., ed., tran., *Gregory of Nyssa: The Letters*, Supplements to Vigiliae Christianae, 83 (Leiden and Boston, 2007)

Jerome

Migne, J.-P., ed., *Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina*, 217 vols (Paris, 1845), XXII

John Chrysostom

Migne, J.-P., ed., '*Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Graeca*, 161 vols (Paris, 1862), LXIII

Thomas à Kempis

'Thomas à Kempis: De imitatione Christi', *The Latin Library* <http://www.thelatin-library.com/kempis/kempis1.shtml> [accessed 17 April 2019]

William Langland

'Bx.5 – PPEA', *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive*, 2017 <http://piers.chass.ncsu.edu/texts/Bx/5?view=critical> [accessed 17 April 2019]

'Bx.P – PPEA', *Piers Plowman Electronic Archive*, 2017 <http://piers.chass.ncsu.edu/texts/Bx/P?view=critical> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Various

Hudson, Anne, ed., *Two Wycliffite Texts: The Sermon of William Taylor 1406; The Testimony of William Thorpe 1407*, Early English Text Society Original Series, 301 (Oxford, 1993)

Wolfram von Eschenbach

Heinzle, Joachim, ed., *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Willehalm*, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 9 (Frankfurt am Main, 1991)

Lachmann, Karl, and Eberhard Nellmann, eds, *Wolfram von Eschenbach: Parzival*, trans. Dieter Kühn, Bibliothek des Mittelalters, 8/1–2, 2 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1994)

Online Facsimiles

Kempe, Margery, *Here begynneth a shorte treatyse of contemplacyon taught by our lorde Jhesu cryste, or taken out of the boke of Margerie kempe of lyn[n]* (London, 1501), Early English Books Online <http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.88-2003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:image:4992:4> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Secondary Works

Allen, Valerie, and Margaret Connolly, 'IV Middle English: Chaucer', *The Year's Work in English Studies*, 82/1 (2003), 190–223

Antrim, Zayde, 'Jerusalem in the Ayyubid and Mamluk Periods', in *Routledge Handbook on Jerusalem*, ed. Suleiman A. Mourad, Naomi Koltun-Fromm, and Bedross Der Matossian (London and New York, 2019), 102–09

Arjana, Sophia Rose, *Muslims in the Western Imagination* (Oxford, 2015)

Atkin, Tamara, and A. S. G. Edwards, 'Printers, Publishers and Promoters to 1558', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge, 2014), 27–44

Bagge, Sverre, 'The Autobiography of Abelard and Medieval Individualism', *Journal of Medieval History*, 19/4 (1993), 327–50

Baisch, Martin, 'Vorausdeutungen: Neugier und Spannung im höfischen Roman', in *Historische Narratologie: Mediävistische Perspektiven*, ed. Harald Haferland and Matthias Meyer, Trends in Medieval Philology, 19 (Berlin, 2010), 205–30

Bale, Anthony, '"Fro Baffe to Jaffe": A Fifteenth-Century Itinerary from Venice to Jaffa and the River Jordan', *Pilgrim Libraries: Books & Reading on the Medieval Routes to Rome & Jerusalem*, 2017 <http://www.bbk.ac.uk/pilgrimlibraries/2017/07/26/rylands/> [accessed 18 April 2019]

——, '"ut legi": Sir John Mandeville's Audience and Three Late Medieval English Travelers to Italy and Jerusalem', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 38/1 (2016), 201–37

——, 'Jerusalem in Wiltshire: "Like a Fortified Mansion"', *Remembered Places*, 2012 <https://rememberedplaces.wordpress.com/2012/03/12/jerusalem-in-wiltshire-like-a-fortified-mansion-36/> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Bale, Anthony, and Sebastian Sobecki, eds, *Medieval English Travel: A Critical Anthology* (Oxford, 2018)

Bateson, Mary, ed., *Catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth* (Cambridge, 1898)

Bedos-Rezak, Brigitte Miriam, 'Medieval Identity: A Sign and a Concept', *The American Historical Review*, 105/5 (2000), 1489–533

Beebe, Kathryne, 'Journey, Geography, and Time in Felix Fabri's Sionpilger', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 93/4 (2019), 431–48

——, *Pilgrim and Preacher: The Audiences and Observant Spirituality of Friar Felix Fabri (1437/8–1502)* (Oxford, 2014)

Belhassen, Yaniv, Kellee Caton, and William P. Stewart, 'The Search for Authenticity in the Pilgrim Experience', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 35/3 (2008), 668–89

Bell, Adrian R., and Richard S. Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business', *Enterprise and Society*, 12/3 (2011), 601–27

Bell, David N., 'Monastic Libraries: 1400–1557', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 229–54

Bell, Dean Phillip, 'Marginalization and the Jews in Late Medieval Germany', *Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, 16/2 (2011), 72–93

——, *Sacred Communities: Jewish and Christian Identities in Fifteenth-Century Germany* (Boston, 2001)

Berman, Nina, *German Literature on the Middle East: Discourses and Practices, 1000–1989* (Ann Arbor, 2011)

Bernau, Anke, *Curiosity, Craft, Nostalgia* (University of Western Australia, 2016) <https://soundcloud.com/emotions_make_history/anke-bernau-curiosity-nostalgia> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Being Curious in Late Medieval England' (presented at the Medieval English Research Seminar, Oxford, 2015)

Biernoff, Suzannah, *Sight and Embodiment in the Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 2002)

Blake, N. F., *William Caxton and English Literary Culture* (London and Rio Grande, 1991)

Blake, Norman, 'The Literary Language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language, II: 1066–1476*, ed. Norman Blake (Cambridge, 1992), 500–541

Blayney, Peter W. M., *The Stationers' Company and the Printers of London, 1501–1557* (Cambridge, 2013)

Booth, Wayne C., *The Rhetoric of Fiction*, 2nd edn (Chicago, 1983)

Bosselmann-Cyran, Kristian, 'Walther, Paul (von Guglingen) OFM', in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd edn (Berlin, 1999), x, 655–57

Boyle, Mary, 'William Wey's Itinerary to the Holy Land: Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 565 (c.1470)', *Bodleian Library Record*, 28/1 (2015), 22–36

Boyle, Mary, and Annette Volfing, '"Imaginatio", Anachronismus und Heilsgeschichte', in *Geschichte Erzählen*, ed. Sarah Bowden, Stephen Mossman, and Michael Stolz (Tübingen, 2019), 137–52

Brall-Tuchel, Helmut, 'Der Reisende als Integrationsfigur? Arnold von Harff: Ein Pilger zwischen Regionalität und Expansion', in *Europäisches Erbe des Mittelalters: Kulturelle Integration und Sinnvermittlung einst und jetzt*, ed. Ina Karg (Göttingen, 2011), 67–93

Brandis, Tilo, 'Handschriften- und Buchproduktion im 15. und frühen 16. Jahrhundert', in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart, 1984), 176–93

Brefeld, Josephie, *A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism* (Hilversum, 1994)

Brenner, Peter J., ed., *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur* (Frankfurt am Main, 1989)

Brown, D. Catherine, *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge, 1987)

Brummett, Palmira, 'Introduction: Genre, Witness, and Time in the "Book" of Travels', in *The 'Book' of Travels: Genre, Ethnology, and Pilgrimage, 1250–1700*, ed. Palmira Brummett (Leiden and Boston, 2009), 1–35

Cabassut, André, 'Curiosité', in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité: ascétique et mystique: doctrine et histoire*, ed. Marcel Viller, F. Cavallera, and J. de Guibert (Paris, 1937), col. 2654–col. 2661

Campbell, Mary B., *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca and London, 1988)

Carley, James P., *The Books of Henry VIII and his Wives* (London, 2004)

de Castela, Henri, *La guide et adresse pour ceux qui veullent faire le S. voiage de Hiérusalem, par V. P. F. Henry Castela* (Paris, 1604)

Carruthers, Mary, *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric, and the Making of Images, 400–1200*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 34 (Cambridge, 1998, repr. 1999)

Chareyron, Nicole, *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, trans. Donald W. Wilson (New York, 2005)

Chinca, Mark, and Christopher Young, 'Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: A Conjunction and its Consequences', in *Orality and Literacy in the Middle Ages: Essays on a Conjunction and its Consequences in Honour of D. H. Green*,

ed. Mark Chinca and Christopher Young, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 12 (Turnhout, 2005), 1–15

Clanchy, M. T., *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066–1307*, 3rd edn (Chichester, 2013)

Classen, Albrecht, 'Constructed Space in the Late Middle Ages: Arnold von Harff's Incidental Discovery of a New Paradigm of Urban Space in Cairo', *German Studies Review*, 33/2 (2010), 375–88

Coates, Alan, 'The Latin Trade in England and Abroad', in *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558*, ed. Vincent Gillespie and Susan Powell (Cambridge, 2014), 45–58

Coates, Alan, Kristian Jensen, Cristina Dondi, Bettina Wagner, and Helen Dixon, *A Catalogue of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Century now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 6 vols (Oxford, 2005), II

Cohen, Jeffrey Jerome, 'Hybrids, Monsters, Borderlands: The Bodies of Gerald of Wales', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 85–104

Cohen, Richard I., 'The "Wandering Jew" from Medieval Legend to Modern Metaphor', in *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*, ed. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Jonathan Karp, Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia, 2008), 147–75

Coleman, Joyce, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature, 26 (Cambridge, 1996)

Coneys, Matthew, 'Real and Virtual Pilgrims and the Italian Version of the "Book of John Mandeville"', *Viator*, 49/1 (2018), 241–55

——, 'Travel Writing, Reception Theory and the History of Reading: Reconsidering the Late Middle Ages', *Studies in Travel Writing*, 22/4 (2018), 353–70

Conklin Akbari, Suzanne, *Idols in the East: European Representations of Islam and the Orient, 1100–1450* (Ithaca and London, 2009)

——, 'From Due East to True North: Orientalism and Orientation', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 19–34

Consortium of European Research Libraries', Breydenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam [German] Die heyligen reyssen gen Jherusalem', *Incunabula Short Title Catalogue*, 2016 <https://data.cerl.org/istc/ib01193000> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Cooper, Helen, and Sally Mapstone, eds, *The Long Fifteenth Century: Essays for Douglas Gray* (Oxford, 1997)

Cooper-Rompato, Christine, 'Traveling Tongues: Foreign-Language Phrase Lists in Wynkyn de Worde and William Wey', *The Chaucer Review*, 46/1 (2011), 223–36

Copeland, Rita, and Ineke Sluiter, eds, *Medieval Grammar and Rhetoric: Language Arts and Literary Theory, AD 300–1475* (Oxford, 2009)

Cross, F. L., ed., 'Stations of the Cross', in *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 3rd edn, ed. E. A. Livingstone (Oxford, 1997), 1538–39

Cuddon, J. A., *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 5th edn, rev. M. A. R. Habib (Chichester, 2013)

——, *A Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4th edn, rev. C. E. Preston (Oxford, 1998)

Cunningham, Sean, 'Guildford, Sir Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11723> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Damian-Grint, Peter, 'Sæwulf', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24468> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Davies, Hugh William, *Bernhard von Breydenbach and His Journey to the Holy Land 1483–4: A Bibliography* (London, 1911)

Delano-Smith, Catherine, 'The Intelligent Pilgrim: Maps and Medieval Pilgrimage to the Holy Land', in *Eastward Bound: Travel and Travellers 1050–1550*, ed. Rosamund Allen (Manchester, 2004), 107–30

Denery, Dallas G., *Seeing and Being Seen in the Later Medieval World: Optics, Theology and Religious Life* (Cambridge, 2005)

Dondi, Cristina, and Neil Harris, 'Oil and Green Ginger. The "Zornale" of the Venetian Bookseller Francesco de Madiis, 1484–1488', in *Documenting the Early Modern Book World: Inventories and Catalogues in Manuscript and Print*, ed. Malcolm Walsby and Natasha Constantinidou, Library of the Written Word, 31 (Leiden, 2013), 341–406

Dorninger, Maria E., 'Memory and Representations of Jerusalem in Medieval and Early Modern Pilgrimage Reports', in *Visual Constructs of Jerusalem*, ed. Bianca Kühnel, Galit Noga-Banai, and Hanna Vorholt, Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 18 (Turnhout, 2014), 421–28

Duff, David, ed., *Modern Genre Theory* (Harlow, 2000)

Duggan, Anne J., 'Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Twelfth Century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the Cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcobaça and Tomar', *Portuguese Studies*, 14 (1998), 1–19

Edson, Evelyn, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Mapmakers viewed their World*, The British Library Studies in Map History, 1 (London, 1997, repr. 1999)

Ehrenschwendtner, Marie-Luise, 'Jerusalem Behind Walls: Enclosure, Substitute Pilgrimage, and Imagined Space in the Poor Clares' Convent at Villingen', *The Mediaeval Journal*, 3/2 (2013), 1–38

——, 'Virtual Pilgrimages? Enclosure and the Practice of Piety at St Katherine's Convent, Augsburg', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 60/01 (2009), 45–73

Eisenstein, Elizabeth L., *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1983)

Engelsing, Rolf, *Analphabetentum und Lektüre: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Lesens in Deutschland zwischen feudaler und industrieller Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart, 1973)

Erler, Mary C., 'Devotional Literature', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 495–525

Finlayson, John, 'The Contexts of the Crusading Romances in the London

Thornton Manuscript', *Anglia: Zeitschrift für englische Philologie*, 130/2 (2012), 240–63

da Fontana, Giovanni, *Liber de Omnibus Rebus Quae Continentur in Mundo* (Venice, 1544)

Forrest, Ian, *The Detection of Heresy in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2005)

Fowler, Alastair, *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford, 1982, repr. 2002)

Frauchiger, F., 'Dresden M 13: A Fifteenth-Century Collection of Religious Meisterlieder' (University of Chicago, 1938)

Frelick, Nancy M., ed., *The Mirror in Medieval and Early Modern Culture: Specular Reflections* (Turnhout, 2016)

Friedrich, Karin, *The Other Prussia: Royal Prussia, Poland and Liberty, 1569–1772* (2000)

Friedman, Yvonne, and Shulamit Furstenberg-Levi, 'Pilgrimage Guides to the Holy Land: Past and Present', *Journeys*, 18/1 (2017), 35–56

Frye, Northrop, *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays* (Princeton, 1957)

Fudge, Thomas A., *The Trial of Jan Hus: Medieval Heresy and Criminal Procedure* (2013)

Füssel, Stephan, 'Early Modern German Printing', in *The Camden House History of German Literature, IV: Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Rochester, NY, 2007), 217–46

——, *Gutenberg und seine Wirkung* (Frankfurt am Main. and Leipzig, 1999)

Ganz-Blättler, Ursula, *Andacht und Abenteuer: Berichte europäischer Jerusalem- und Santiago-Pilger (1320–1520)* (Tübingen, 1990)

García Espada, Antonio, 'Marco Polo, Odorico of Pordenone, the Crusades, and the Role of the Vernacular in the First Descriptions of the Indies', *Viator*, 40/1 (2009), 201–22

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, 'M20422 Mandeville, Johannes de: Itinerarium, engl. [London]: Richard Pynson, [um 1496]. 4°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2015 <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MANDJOH.htm#M20422> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Mandeville, Johannes de', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2015 <https://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MANDJOH.htm> [accessed 18 April 2019]

——, '04303 Biblia, deutsch. Nürnberg: Anton Koberger, 17.II.1483. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2013 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW04303.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, '05078 Breidenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, deutsch. Augsburg: Anton Sorg, 22.IV.1488. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BREIBER.htm#GW05078> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, '05081 Breidenbach, Bernhard von: Peregrinatio in terram sanctam, niederl. Mainz: Erhard Reuwich, 24.V.1488. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*,

2012 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW05081.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Breidenbach, Bernhard von', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BREIBER.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Chappe, Paulinus', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/CHAPPAU.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'M3089420 Peregrinationes totius terrae sanctae. Venedig: [Leonhard Wild, um 1479]. 8°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/M3089420.htm#M3089420_00_001> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Peregrinationes', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/PEREGRI1.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Schiltberger, Hans', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2012 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/SCHIHAN.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, '06585 Chaucer, Geoffrey: The Canterbury tales. [Westminster: William Caxton, um 1478]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2011 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/CHAUGEO.htm#GW06585> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Tucher, Hans', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2011 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/TUCHHAN.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, '00194 Ackermann von Böhmen. [Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, um 1463]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2010 <Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, '00193 Ackermann von Böhmen. [Bamberg: Albrecht Pfister, um 1460] [vielmehr unbekannter Drucker mit Typen des Albrecht Pfister, um 1470]. 2°', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2007 <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/GW00193.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Mahnung wider die Türken', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2007 <http://gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/MAHNUNG.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke and Anton Hiersemann, 'Biblia', *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke*, 2019 [1968] <http://www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de/docs/BIBLIA.htm> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Gillespie, Alexandra, 'Caxton and the Invention of Printing', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009, repr. 2011), 21–36

Gillespie, Vincent, 'Syon and the English Market for Continental Printed Books: The Incunable Phase', in *Syon Abbey and its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400–1700*, ed. E. A. Jones and Alexandra Walsham (Woodbridge, 2010), 104–28

Gillespie, Vincent, and Susan Powell, eds, *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain 1476–1558* (Cambridge, 2014)

Given-Wilson, Chris, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York, 2004)

Gluzman, Renard, 'Between Venice and the Levant: Reevaluating Maritime Routes from the Fourteenth to the Sixteenth Century', *The Mariner's Mirror*, 96/3 (2010), 264–94

Gow, Andrew Colin, 'The Bible in Germanic', in *The New Cambridge History of the Bible, II: From 600 to 1450*, ed. Richard Marsden and E. Ann Matter (Cambridge, 2012), 198–216

Graus, František, 'Randgruppen in der städtischen Gesellschaft im Spätmittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung*, 8 (1981), 385–437

Griffiths, Gareth, 'Biography', in *A Dictionary of Modern Critical Terms*, ed. Roger Fowler (London, 1973, repr. London and New York, 1997), 23–25

Griffiths, Jane, 'Having The Last Word: Manuscript, Print, and The Envoy in the Poetry of John Skelton', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature, 1485–1603*, ed. Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford, 2009, repr. 2011), 69–86

Hamburger, Jeffrey F., 'Idol Curiosity', in *Curiositas: Welterfahrung und ästhetische Neugierde in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Klaus Krüger (Göttingen, 2002), 19–58

Handschriftencensus, 'Arnold von Harff: Reisebericht', *Handschriftencensus* <www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/2461> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'Herzog Ernst D', *Handschriftencensus* <http://www.handschriftencensus.de/werke/1420> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Harrison, Peter, 'Curiosity, Forbidden Knowledge, and the Reformation of Natural Philosophy in Early Modern England', *Isis*, 92/2 (2001), 265–90

Hasecker, Jyri, *Die Johanniter und die Wallfahrt nach Jerusalem* (Göttingen, 2008)

Heale, Martin, 'Training in Superstition? Monasteries and Popular Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58/03 (2007), 417–39

Hellinga, Lotte, 'Printing', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 65–108

Heng, Geraldine, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2018)

Henkel, Nikolaus, 'Wertevermittlung und Wissen in der Hand des Gelehrten: Sebastian Brant und sein Werk', in *Text und Normativität im deutschen Mittelalter*, ed. Elke Brüggen, Franz-Josef Holznagel, Sebastian Coxon, and Almut Suerbaum (Berlin and Boston, 2012), 13–48

Historic England, 'Church of the Holy Sepulchre, Cambridge – 1126260', *Historic England* <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1126260> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Hodnett, Edward, *English Woodcuts, 1480–1535* (Oxford, 1935, repr. 1973)

Honemann, Volker, 'Zur Überlieferung der Reisebeschreibung Arnolds von Harff', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur*, 107/2 (1978), 165–78

Hulme, Peter, and Tim Youngs, eds, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge, 2002)

Hunt, Richard W., and others, eds, *A summary catalogue of Western manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford which have not hitherto been catalogued in the quarto series: with references to the Oriental and other manuscripts*, 7 vols (Oxford, 1895–1953)

Hurlock, Kathryn, *Medieval Welsh Pilgrimage, c.1100–1500* (New York, 2018)

Jauss, Hans Robert, 'Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature', in *Modern Genre Theory*, ed. David Duff, trans. Timothy Bahti (Harlow, 2000), 127–47

——, *Alterität und Modernität der mittelalterlichen Literatur. Gesammelte Aufsätze 1956–1976* (Munich, 1977)

Johnston, Stanley Howard, 'A Study of the Career and Literary Publications of Richard Pynson' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1977)

Jurkowski, Maureen, 'Heresy and Factionalism at Merton College in the Early Fifteenth Century', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 48/04 (1997), 658–81

Kammeier-Nebel, Andrea, 'Frauenbildung im Kaufmannsmilieu spätmittelalterlicher Städte', in *Geschichte der Mädchen- und Frauenbildung*, ed. Elke Kleinau and Claudia Opitz (Frankfurt, 1996), I, 78–90

Kasten, Ingrid, and Volker Mertens, 'Aventure (âventiure)', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, ed. Robert-Henri Bautier, Gloria Avella-Widhalm, and Robert Auty (Munich and Zürich, 1977, repr. 1980), I, 1289–90

Kekewich, Margaret Lucille, 'Aiscough [Ayscough], William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2009 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/954> [accessed 16 April 2019]

Kenny, Neil, *The Uses of Curiosity in Early Modern France and Germany* (Oxford, 2004)

Klingner, Jacob, 'Ludolf von Sudheim', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, III: Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin, 2012), 383–87

Kühnel, Bianca, 'Virtual Pilgrimages to Real Places: The Holy Landscapes', in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, Proceedings of the British Academy, 175 (Oxford, 2012), 243–64

Lähnemann, Henrike, 'Eine imaginäre Reise nach Jerusalem: Der "Geographische Traktat" des Erhart Groß', in *Sehen und Sichtbarkeit in der Literatur des deutschen Mittelalters: XXI. Anglo-German Colloquium London 2009*, ed. Ricarda Bauschke, Sebastian Coxon, and Martin H. Jones (Berlin, 2011), 408–24

Lane Ford, Margaret, 'Private Ownership of Printed Books', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, III: 1400–1557*, ed. Lotte Hellinga and J. B. Trapp (Cambridge, 1999), 205–28

Lee, David Y. W., 'Genres, Registers, Text Types, Domain, and Styles: Clarifying the Concepts and Navigating a Path through the BNC Jungle', *Language Learning & Technology*, 5/3 (2001), 37–72

Lightsey, Scott, 'Chaucer's Secular Marvels and the Medieval Economy of Wonder', *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, 23 (2001), 289–316

Limor, Ora, 'Jerusalem', in *Europe: A Literary History, 1348–1418*, ed. David Wallace (Oxford, 2016), 362–405

Love, Harold, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1993, repr. 2001)

Lutton, Rob, 'Pilgrimage and Travel Writing in Early Sixteenth-Century England: The Pilgrimage Accounts of Thomas Larke and Robert Langton', *Viator*, 48/3 (2017), 333–57

——, 'Richard Guldeford's Pilgrimage: Piety and Cultural Change in Late Fifteenth- and Early Sixteenth-Century England', *History*, 98/329 (2013), 41–78

Luz, Nimrod, *The Mamluk City in the Middle East* (Cambridge, 2014)

Maurer, Desmond, 'Minding Your Greeks and Jews: Europe's Imaginary Friends and Enemies', *Forum Bosnæ*, 55 (2012), 57–96

McGregor, Andrew James, *A Military History of Modern Egypt: From the Ottoman Conquest to the Ramadan War* (Westport and London, 2006)

McKitterick, David, *Print, Manuscript and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge, 2003)

McMichael, Steven J., 'The Night Journey (Al-Isrāʾ) and Ascent (Al-Miʿrāj) of Muhammad in Medieval Muslim and Christian Perspectives', *Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations*, 22/3 (2011), 293–309

Meyer, Carla, 'New Methods and Old Records: Awareness and Perceptions of the Near East in Hans Tucher's Account of His Journey to the Holy Land and Egypt', *The Medieval History Journal*, 15/1 (2012), 25–62

Minnis, A. J., *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*, reissued 2nd edn (Philadelphia, 2010)

Mohr, Robert, Robert Schöller, and Michael Stolz, 'Handschriftenverzeichnis', *Parzival-Projekt*, 2013 <http://www.parzival.unibe.ch/hsverz.html> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Mooney, Linne R., and others, eds, 'God that shaped both heaven and hell', *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* <http://www.dimev.net/record.php?recID=1613> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Moore, Kathryn Blair, *The Architecture of the Christian Holy Land: Reception from Late Antiquity through the Renaissance* (Cambridge, 2017)

Morris, Colin, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West: From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford, 2005)

Neuber, Wolfgang, 'Travel Reports in Early Modern Germany', in *Camden House History of German Literature, IV: Early Modern German Literature, 1350–1700*, ed. Max Reinhart (Woodbridge and Rochester, 2007), 737–59

Neville, Pamela Ayers, 'Richard Pynson, King's Printer (1506–1529): Printing and Propaganda in Early Tudor England' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, Warburg Institute, 1990)

Neville-Sington, Pamela, 'Pynson, Richard', *Oxford Dictionary of National*

Biography, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22935> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Newhauser, Richard, 'Towards a History of Human Curiosity: A Prolegomenon to its Medieval Phase', *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Geistesgeschichte*, 56/4 (1982), 559–75

Nirenberg, David, 'Enmity and Assimilation: Jews, Christians, and Converts in Medieval Spain', *Common Knowledge*, 9/1 (2003), 137–55

O'Doherty, Marianne, *The Indies and the Medieval West: Thought, Report, Imagination* (Turnhout, 2013)

Olk, Claudia, *Reisen und Erzählen: Studien zur Entwicklung von Fiktionalität in narrativen Reisedarstellungen der englischen Literatur in Spätmittelalter und Renaissance* (Trier, 1999)

Olympios, Michalis, 'Shared devotions: non-Latin responses to Latin sainthood in late medieval Cyprus', *Journal of Medieval History*, 39/3 (2013), 321–41

Orme, Nicholas, *Medieval Children* (New Haven and London, 2001)

Ousterhout, Robert G., 'The Church of Santo Stefano: A "Jerusalem" in Bologna', *Gesta*, 20/2 (1981), 311–21

Oxford University Press, 'autobiography, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13379> [accessed 18 April 2019]

——, 'curiosity, n.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46038> [accessed 18 April 2019]

——, 'curious, adj. and adv.', *Oxford English Dictionary* (2019) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/46040> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Palmer, Nigel F., 'Zum Nebeneinander von Volkssprache und Latein in spätmittelalterlichen Texten', in *Literatur und Laienbildung im Spätmittelalter und in der Reformationszeit*, ed. Ludger Grenzmann and Karl Stackmann (Stuttgart, 1984), 579–600

Paluck, Elizabeth Levy, 'How to Overcome Prejudice', *Science*, 352/6282 (2016), 147

Pettegree, Andrew, 'Print and the Reformation: A Drama in Three Acts', *Church History*, 86/4 (2017), 980–97

——, *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven and London, 2010)

Phillips, Kim M., *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia, 2014)

Plomer, Henry R., 'Two Lawsuits of Richard Pynson', *The Library*, s2-X/38 (1909), 115–33

Rajabzadeh, Shokoofeh, 'The Depoliticized Saracen and Muslim Erasure', *Literature Compass*, 16/9–10 (2019), e12548

Rankin, Alisha, 'Germany', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660*, ed. Joad Raymond (Oxford, 2011), 205–13

Regents of the University of Michigan, 'Mǎtěr(e (n.)', *Middle English Dictionary*, 2001 <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED27049> [accessed 16 April 2019]

Ridder, Klaus, *Jean de Mandevilles 'Reisen': Studien zur Überlieferungsgeschichte der deutschen Übersetzung des Otto von Diemeringen* (Munich, 1991)

Riley-Smith, Jonathan, *The Crusades: A History*, 3rd edn (London and New York, 2014)

Ritsema van Eck, Marianne P., *The Holy Land in Observant Franciscan Texts (c.1480–1650): Theology, Travel, and Territoriality* (Leiden and Boston, 2019)

——, 'Encounters With the Levant: The Late Medieval Illustrated Jerusalem Travelogue by Paul Walter von Guglingen', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 32/2 (2017), 153–88

Röhricht, Reinhold, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem Heiligen Lande* (Gotha, 1889)

Röhricht, Reinhold, and Heinrich Meisner, *Deutsche Pilgerreisen nach dem heiligen Lande* (Berlin, 1880)

Ross, Elizabeth, *Picturing Experience in the Early Printed Book: Breydenbach's 'Peregrinatio' from Venice to Jerusalem* (University Park, 2014)

Rubin, Miri, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991, repr. 1992)

Rudy, Kathryn M., 'An Illuminated English Guide to Pilgrimage in the Holy Land: Oxford, Queen's College, MS 357', in *Imagining Jerusalem in the Medieval West*, ed. Lucy Donkin and Hanna Vorholt, Proceedings of the British Academy, 175 (Oxford, 2012), 219–42

——, *Virtual Pilgrimages in the Convent: Imagining Jerusalem in the Late Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2011)

Rüth, Axel, 'Representing Wonder in Medieval Miracle Narratives', *MLN*, 126/4, French Issue Supplement (2011), 89–114

Said, Edward W., *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge, 1983, repr. 1995)

——, *Orientalism* (London, 1978)

Schmid Heer, Esther, 'Anton Sepp SJ, "Reisebeschreibung" (1696)', in *Literarische Performativität: Lektüren vormoderner Texte*, ed. Cornelia Herberichs and Christian Kiening (Zurich, 2008), 413–29

Schröder, Stefan, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri* (Berlin, 2009)

Schulz, Armin, *Erzähltheorie in mediävistischer Perspektive*, ed. Manuel Braun, Alexandra Dunkel, and Jan-Dirk Müller (Berlin, 2012)

Scribner, R. W., *Religion and Culture in Germany (1400–1800)*, ed. Lyndal Roper (Leiden, 2001)

Sebag Montefiore, Simon, *Jerusalem: The Biography* (New York, 2011)

Shemek, Deanna, 'Conclusion', in *Trust and Proof: Translators in Renaissance Print Culture*, ed. Andrea Rizzi (Leiden, 2017), 251–56

Siew, Tsafra, 'Translations of the Jerusalem Pilgrimage Route at the Holy Mountains of Varallo and San Vivaldo', in *Between Jerusalem and Europe: Essays in Honour of Bianca Kühnel*, ed. Renana Bartal and Hanna Vorholt (Leiden and Boston, 2015), 113–32

Simsky, A. D., 'The Image-Paradigm of Jerusalem in Christian Hierotopy', *Journal of Visual Semiotics*, 3 (2018), 101–13

Smilie, Ethan, 'Goddes Pryvetee and a Wyf: "Curiositas" and the Triadic Sins in the Miller's and Reeve's Tales', *Christianity and Literature*, 65/1 (2015), 4–26

Sobecki, Sebastian I., 'Mandeville's Thought of the Limit: The Discourse of Similarity and Difference in "The Travels of Sir John Mandeville"', *The Review of English Studies*, 53/211 (2002), 329–43

Spearing, A. C., *Medieval Autographies: The 'I' of the Text* (Notre Dame, 2012)

Stagl, Justin, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel, 1550–1800*, Studies in Anthropology and History, 13 (Amsterdam, 1995)

Staubach, Nikolaus, 'Gerhard Zerbolt von Zutphen und die Laienbibel', in *Lay Bibles in Europe 1450–1800*, ed. M. Lamberigts and A. A. Den Hollander, Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium, CXCVIII (Leuven, 2006), 3–26

Steinmetz, Ralf-Henning, 'Bearbeitungstypen in der Literatur des Mittelalters. Vorschläge für eine Klärung der Begriffe', in *Texttyp und Textproduktion in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen, Manfred Eikelmann, and Anne Simon, Trends in Medieval Philology, 7 (Berlin and New York, 2005), 41–61

Strauch, Philipp, ed., *Die Offenbarungen Der Adelheid Langmann, Klosterfrau Zu Engelthal* (Strasbourg and London, 1878)

Suerbaum, Almut, 'Language of Violence: Language as Violence in Vernacular Sermons', in *Polemic: Language as Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Discourse*, ed. Almut Suerbaum, George Southcombe, and Benjamin Thompson (Farnham, 2015), 125–48

Sugiyama, Miyako, 'Performing Virtual Pilgrimage to Rome: A Rediscovered Christ Crucified from a Series of Three Panel Paintings (ca. 1500)', *Oud Holland – Journal for Art of the Low Countries*, 132/4 (2019), 159–70

Summerson, Henry, 'Langton, Robert', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2008 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/16042> [accessed 15 April 2019]

——, 'Wey, William', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/29152> [accessed 18 April 2019]

Swanson, R. N., *Indulgences in Late Medieval England: Passports to Paradise?* (Cambridge, 2007)

Taylor, John, 'Walsingham, Thomas', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28627> [accessed 16 April 2019]

Thomson, S. Harrison, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln 1235–1253* (Cambridge, 1940)

Timm, Frederike, *Der Palästina-Pilgerbericht des Bernhard von Breidenbach von 1486 und die Holzschnitte Erhard Reuwichs* (Stuttgart, 2006)

Toch, Michael, *Die Juden im mittelalterlichen Reich* (Munich, 1998)

Tolan, John V., *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York, 2002)

Tomasch, Sylvia, 'Postcolonial Chaucer and the Virtual Jew', in *The Postcolonial Middle Ages*, ed. Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Basingstoke, 2000), 243–60

Trier Center for Digital Humanities, 'niu-gërne', *Wörterbuchnetz*, 2011 <http://

woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/Navigator/navigator_py?sigle=Lexer&lemid=LN01179&mode=Vernetzung&hitlist=&patternlist=&sigle1=Lexer&lemid1=LN01179&sigle2=BMZ&lemid2=BG00828> [accessed 17 April 2019]

——, 'vir-witzecheit', *Wörterbuchnetz*, 2011 <http://woerterbuchnetz.de/cgi-bin/WBNetz/Navigator/navigator_py?sigle=Lexer&lemid=LV03935&mode=Vernetzung&hitlist=&patternlist=&sigle1=Lexer&lemid1=LV03936&sigle2=BMZ&lemid2=BW02676> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Tugwell, Simon, 'The Sin of Pride', *New Blackfriars*, 66/775 (1985), 4–7

Turville-Petre, Thorlac, *England the Nation: Language, Literature, and National Identity, 1290–1340* (Oxford, 1996)

Universal Short Title Catalogue, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey: The boke of Canterbury tales dilygently and truely corrected, and newly printed. London, Richard Pynson, 1526', *Universal Short Title Catalogue*, 2019 <http://ustc.ac.uk/index.php/record/501941> [accessed 17 April 2019]

Volfing, Annette, *John the Evangelist in Medieval German Writing: Imitating the Inimitable* (Oxford, 2001)

Walsh, P. G., 'The Rights and Wrongs of Curiosity (Plutarch to Augustine)', *Greece & Rome*, Second Series, 35/1 (1988), 73–85

Wandel, Lee Palmer, *Reading Catechisms, Teaching Religion* (Leiden, 2015)

Webb, Diana, *Pilgrims and Pilgrimage in the Medieval West* (London and New York, 1999, repr. 2001)

Westrem, Scott D., '"A Guidebook for the Jerusalem Pilgrimage in the Late Middle Ages: A Case for Computer-Aided Textual Criticism" by Josephie Brefeld', *Speculum*, 72/1 (1997), 116–19

Wettlaufer, Jörg, and Werner Paravicini, 'European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages', *European Travel Accounts of the Late Middle Ages*, 2014 <http://www.digiberichte.de/> [accessed 26 March 2020]

Wettlaufer, Jörg, Werner Paravicini, Jan Hirschbiegel, and Detlav Kraack, *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: eine analytische Bibliographie*, ed. Werner Paravicini, Kieler Werkstücke, 3 vols (Frankfurt am Main, 1994)

Williams, Wes, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance: 'The Undiscovered Country'* (Oxford, 1998)

Wittgenstein, Ludwig, *Philosophische Untersuchungen: Philosophical investigations*, trans. G. E. M. Anscombe, 2nd edn (Oxford, 1958)

Wolf, Gerhard, 'Die deutschsprachigen Reiseberichte des Spätmittelalters', in *Der Reisebericht: Die Entwicklung einer Gattung in der deutschen Literatur*, ed. Peter J. Brenner (Frankfurt am Main, 1989), 81–116

Wolf, Gerhard, 'Deutschsprachige Reiseberichte des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Formen und Funktionen einer hybriden Gattung', in *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter, III. Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz (Berlin and Boston, 2012), V–XXVIII

Woudhuysen, H. R., *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558–1640* (Oxford, 1996, repr. 2003)

Zacher, Christian K., 'XIX: Travel and Geographical Writings', in *A Manual of the*

Writings in Middle English, 1050–1500, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1986), VII, 2235–54

——, *Curiosity and Pilgrimage: The Literature of Discovery in Fourteenth-Century England* (Baltimore and London, 1976)

Index

Aiscough, William 46
Alfonsi, Peter 19, 96–97
Ambrose of Milan 19, 90
Aquinas, Thomas 112, 115, 122, 135, 140
Augsburg 155, 161 n. 41, 168
Augustine of Hippo 48, 115, 120, 129

Basel 75
Beck, Konrad 22, 201
Bede the Venerable 19
Bernard of Clairvaux 115
Bethlehem 12, 109–10
Bologna 14, 168
  see also holy sepulchre chapels
Brant, Sebastian 158–59, 175 n. 107
Brewyn, William 64 n. 139, 198
Breydenbach, Bernhard von
  biography 3–4, 170
  fellow pilgrims 4, 22, 88–90
    see also Fabri, Felix
  Peregrinatio in terram sanctam 55–58, 82–108, 112–13, 123–26, 169–77, 181–91, 201
    audience 5, 56–57, 173, 175–77
    call to crusade 57, 89, 104–07, 169–70, 195
    comparison of German and Latin versions 4–5, 84 n. 78, 105 n. 175, 113, 170–72, 189
    dual–language publication strategy 8, 34, 171, 173, 175–77
    in England 5, 25, 153–54, 163, 176–77, 180–91
    and Harff, Arnold von *see* and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio under Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff under* Harff, Arnold von
    images 4, 97, 124, 141 n. 138, 159, 165–66, 171–74
    and Larke, Thomas *see* and Breydenbach *under Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde under* Larke, Thomas
    in other vernaculars 4–5, 166–67, 185
    and othering *see* othering; *see also* Islam; Judaism; non–Latin Christianity
    publication history 3–4, 155, 166, 170–76
    sources 19, 88–93, 96–97, 168, 171, 184–85, 187
Bridget of Sweden 17 n. 83, 19

Cade, Jack 46
Calvary 11, 16, 77, 141
  see also Passion
Cassian, John 115, 117
Catherine of Alexandria 68
  see also Sinai (St Catherine's Monastery)
Catherine of Aragon 177, 178
Catholic Church *see* Latin Church
Caxton, William 155–56, 159, 189
Charles the Bald, Holy Roman Emperor 57, 66, 87
Chaucer, Geoffrey 116, 158, 159
Chrétien de Troyes 119
Church of the Holy Sepulchre 11, 127, 141 n. 138, 196, 200
  and other Christian

denominations 81, 85, 86–87, 102–03, 108
as ultimate goal of pilgrimage 45, 50, 58, 86
see also Calvary; holy sepulchre chapels
Cologne 5, 128, 141
and printing 155, 165, 184, 189
Compostela *see* Santiago de Compostela
conversion 77–78
to Islam 132, 133–34, 139
to Latin Christianity
from Islam 81, 82, 194
from Judaism 81, 90, 94, 97
from non-Latin Christian denominations 103–04
refusal to convert 95, 103–04, 134
Copland, Robert 168
Corfu 9, 173
Crete 9, 173
Crucifixion *see* Passion
Crusades 10, 19, 20, 70, 106
see also call to crusade *under* Breydenbach, Bernhard von
curiosity 109–52
avoidance of 126–28
and criticism of pilgrimage 109–10, 116–17, 124, 128
in literature 119–21
as negative or dangerous 115–16, 120–21, 123–24, 129, 130, 138, 151
as neutral or good 111–14, 119–20, 124, 134–35, 140–41, 151
religiously motivated 113–14, 121–23, 124–26, 135–44, 148–50
satisfied textually 144–50
secular curiosity 118–19, 124, 131–34, 147–48
terminology 111–14, 123, 126
as a visual impulse 120, 129–30, 131–32, 133, 149–50
Cyprus 9, 159

de La Tour, Johannes 161
de Worde, Wynkyn 156, 159, 162–63, 179
Information for Pilgrims 30 n. 13, 66 n. 144, 169, 181, 185, 189
and Wey's *Itineraries* 3, 8, 21, 33 n. 24, 35, 37, 163–64, 199
Dome of the Rock/ Temple of Solomon 12, 61, 72–73, 128, 135–41

Edward I, King of England 69
Edward IV, King of England 46
Egeria 18
Eggestein, Heinrich 161
Egypt 9, 75, 109, 164
Alexandria 9, 12, 105, 110, 131
Cairo
balsam garden 125–26
capital of the Mamluk Sultanate *see* Mamluks
religious groups 75–78
and the Sinai pilgrimage 12, 13 n. 69, 109, 126
tourism 125–26, 131–34
Nile 60, 74, 109, 125, 128–29, 148–49
see also Mamluks; Sinai (St Catherine's Monastery)
England
English as identity 51, 69–70, 80, 113, 193
politics 2, 46, 106, 177–79, 193
reading practices 20, 157–58, 159, 163, 176–77, 185
religious politics 70, 178–79, 183–84, 193
see also in England *under* Judaism; in England *under* pilgrimage writing; print culture in England *under* printing
Erasmus, Desiderius 5, 6, 117, 156, 159
Eucharist
see Mass/Eucharist *under* liturgy

Fabri, Felix 100, 136–37, 165, 167, 193, 200
and Breydenbach, Bernhard von 4, 22, 89 n. 97, 172 n. 89, 201
and virtual pilgrimage 16, 17 n. 83, 53
Fassbender, Peter 167, 201

Flak, Baron *see* Vlad III, Ruler of Wallachia (Vlad the Impaler)
Florence, Council of 70
France 20, 156, 167
  French language 4–5, 20, 38, 185, 201
  Mont St–Michel 109
  Paris 194
  pilgrims from France 18, 197 n. 1
Franciscans 44, 202
  Custody of the Holy Land 11, 14, 17
  Mount Sion 135–36
    library 19, 64, 169, 181, 189–90, 196
  shaping the Franciscan pilgrimage at home 13–18, 22–23, 64–65, 188, 190–91, 196
  shaping the Franciscan pilgrimage in Jerusalem 11–12, 64, 141, 151, 181, 188, 190–91, 196
  Stations of the Cross 15–16, 17, 190, 196
Frederick I, Holy Roman Emperor 44

Gaza 12, 78, 134, 137, 139
Geiler, Johannes (von Kaysersberg) 113
Genre 24, 26–66
  autobiography 48–52, 58, 60–61, 65, 158
  guidebook 30, 41–43, 56–57, 117
    format 41, 59, 61–62, 65, 66 n. 144
    spiritual guidebook 47, 58, 117–18
    standardised guidebook 169, 188
  history writing 34, 45–47, 57–58, 66 n. 144, 79–80
  pilgrimage accounts as genre
    hybridity as fundamental 24, 26–27, 29, 40, 66, 192, 195
    see also hybridity and purpose *under* purpose *under* genre
    shared features 35 n. ii, 63–65, 66, 181, 196
    variety within genre 66, 117, 192
  polemic 57, 66, 78–79, 82–83, 87
  purpose 29–31, 39–40, 47, 54–56, 61, 63, 66, 194–95
    devotional 31, 43, 47–55, 57, 58 60–61, 62–65
    hybridity and purpose 30, 47, 52, 55, 63, 65–66
    instructive 30–31, 43–47, 59–60
    practical 30, 41–43, 56–57, 59, 65
  titles 32–33, 39, 41–42, 45, 49, 174, 181
  travel writing 43–45, 59–60, 62, 118, 145–46, 175
    hybridity 26 n. 1, 43
Germany
  German as identity 134
  politics 106
  reading practices 20, 157–59
  religious politics 70, 183–84, 189, 193
  see also Germany *under* Judaism;, pilgrimage writing; printing
Gerson, Jean 115–16
Gisborough, Prior of *see* Whitby, John
Golgotha *see* Calvary
Gregory of Nyssa 116
Guglingen, Paul Walther von 66 n. 144
  and Breydenbach, Bernhard von 22, 88–90, 94, 101, 107, 165, 184–85
Guide du pélerin de Terre-Sainte au XVe siècle 181, 189
Gumppenberg, Georg von 22, 201
Gutenberg, Johannes 154, 159, 172
Guylforde, Richard
  biography 6–7
  death 7, 126, 178
  pilgrimage account *see Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde under* Larke, Thomas
  see also Larke, Thomas

Harff, Arnold von
  biography 5–6
  Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff 59–61, 74–78, 128–52, 164–67, 202
    audience 6, 24, 59–60, 118–19, 138–39

and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 8, 75, 165–67
disguise *see* disguise as *under* Mamluks
illustrations 60, 132, 138, 140–41, 165–66
knight as literary persona 60–61, 119, 139, 144, 146, 152, 194
knighthood as status 59, 108, 152, 194
and Mandeville's *Book* 130, 137 n. 124, 146–48, 150 n. 162, 166
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 972 6 n. 31, 60 n. 122, 140–41, 165–66
sources 8, 19–21, 30 n. 13, 74–75, 145–48, 165–67
transmission 6, 165
Wonders of the East 59, 66, 74, 130, 144–48, 192
'heathens' 91, 92
see also Muslims defined as 'heathens' *under* Islam
Hebron *see* Tomb of the Patriarchs
Henry VI, King of England 46
Henry VII, King of England 7, 178
Henry VIII, King of England 177–79
heresy 70, 101, 115, 130, 137 n. 124, 193
invocation of heresy as rhetorical strategy 70–71, 81, 82–83, 85, 100–01, 101–04
Herzog Ernst 120–21, 131 n. 98
Hohenwang, Ludwig 161
Holcot, Robert 19, 113–14
Holy Roman Empire 7, 157, 193
see also Charles the Bald; Frederick I; Maximilian I
Holy Sepulchre *see* Church of the Holy Sepulchre
holy sepulchre chapels 2, 14, 17–18, 23, 195
see also virtual pilgrimage
humanism 150–52, 178
Hus, Jan 101
Hussites 70

identity and identity construction
individual 48–50, 59, 108
religious
and appearance 132–33
by definition 67, 73, 108, 192, 194
by exclusion 67, 69–71, 82–85, 91, 99–101, 104–08, 192, 194
see also othering
secular 61, 70 n. 13, 108
imaginary pilgrimage *see* virtual pilgrimage
indulgences
in Compostela 37, 160
in the Holy Land 41, 45, 164, 187, 200
and print 159–60
and reform 159, 180
in Rome 3, 37
and virtual pilgrimage 13, 15, 16, 53, 130
Ireland
pilgrims from Ireland 197
St Patrick's Purgatory 5, 109, 110
Islam
access to pilgrimage sites 85–86, 135
appearance of Muslims 76, 97
arguments based on theological difference 76–77, 92
associated with Judaism 70, 78, 92, 94, 95
contextualised with reference to Christianity 76, 135
depicted as hostile to Christianity 71, 79, 85, 91, 93, 106
depictions of belief and practice 68, 72–73, 76–77, 92–93, 139–40
excluded from pilgrimage space *see* exclusion of groups from pilgrimage space *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space
Islamophobia 79, 85, 87, 90–94, 99, 106
see also othering
in medieval literature 68
medieval western understanding of 68–69
Muhammad 73, 90, 92, 93
association with Christian heresy 81, 100 n. 153

as figure for worship 68
as prophet 77, 87
Muslims defined as 'heathens' 68 n. 7, 69, 86
in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 87, 126
in Harff's *Pilgerfahrt* 76, 78, 132, 134, 135–37, 139, 152
in Larke's *Pylgrymage* 71
Muslims defined as 'Saracens' 67 n. 1, 69, 137
in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 85–86, 87, 90–96, 97, 106
in Larke's *Pylgrymage* 71–73, 79, 139
in Wey's *Itineraries* 79, 81, 108, 113
Muslim inhabitants of the Holy Land 10, 69, 72, 81, 87–94, 135–40
as governors of the Holy Land 10–11, 72, 85–86, 87
neutral depictions of 75–76
Ottomans *see* Ottomans
Qurʾān 100 n. 153
see also Mamluks; Dome of the Rock/Temple of Solomon
Italy 21 n. 108, 161, 197
see also Rome; Venice

Jaffa 7, 9, 12, 13, 50, 72, 126
James the Great, St *see* Santiago de Compostela
Jauss, Hans–Robert/ Jaussian approach to genre 29–31, 40, 55, 63, 65
Jerome 19, 90, 115, 116, 126
Jerusalem
Akeldama (Field of Blood) 39–40
Dome of the Rock *see* Dome of the Rock/Temple of Solomon
Franciscan Custody *see* Custody of the Holy Land *under* Franciscans
history 10–11
Holy Sepulchre *see* Church of the Holy Sepulchre; Calvary
Hospital of St John 1 n. 2
as meme *see* meme Jerusalem *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space
Mount Sion pilgrimage sites 11, 170
Jordan, river 12
Judaism
antisemitism 69–70, 77–78, 80–81, 82, 85, 94–99
see also othering
appearance of Jews 76
associated with Islam *see* associated with Judaism *under* Islam
and the Bible 73, 92, 96–97
bleeding images of Christ 80, 85
in Cairo 75–76, 77–78, 131, 132
converts to Chrisianity 90, 94, 96–97, 103
death of Jesus 73, 92, 96
depicted as hostile to Christianity 95, 97–99
and England 69–70, 73, 80–81, 192–93
excluded from pilgrimage space *see* exclusion of groups from pilgrimage space *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space
in Germany 69, 70, 94, 96, 97–99
in the Holy Land 10, 95, 135–36
in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 95, 97–99
as historical presence 73, 140
see also conversion
medieval western conceptions of 68, 69–70
neutral depictions of 75–76, 80, 82
pilgrims 11
Talmud 96, 100 n. 153
usury accusations 97
in Venice (Mestre) 73, 192–93
the 'virtual Jew' 69–70, 80–81, 99, 193
the Wandering Jew 77

Katherine of Alexandria *see* Catherine of Alexandria
Kempe, Margery 48, 158, 162–63
Kidron Valley *see* Valley of Josaphat
Knights of the Holy Sepulchre 85, 108, 194
Koberger, Anton 172 n. 91

Langmann, Adelheid 52
Langton, Robert 22, 168, 188, 189, 190, 199
  biography 168
Larke, Thomas
  biography 6–7
  identification as Richard Guylforde's chaplain 6, 194
  Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde 61–63, 71–74, 126–28, 177–91
    audience 63, 73, 178, 185
    and Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 7, 25, 64, 153, 180–84, 189
    see also in England *under* *Peregrinatio in terram sanctam under* Breydenbach, Bernhard von
    illustration 179–80
    publication history 7, 177–79
    transmission 22, 167–68, 185–88, 190
    see also vernacular *under* Scripture
Latin Church
  the Church as bride 83, 105,
  as default 73, 76, 93, 95–96, 194
  divisions within 84–85, 87, 105–07
  idealised 83–85, 92–93, 99, 105, 107
Leeu, Gerard 161
literacy 156–59, 165, 175 n. 110, 176
liturgy 11, 195 n. 12
  Mass/Eucharist 23, 46, 80, 101–03, 116, 150, 196
  see also as liturgy *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space
lollardy *see* Wycliffitism
Loreto 12
Lough Derg *see* St Patrick's Purgatory *under* Ireland
Low Countries 15 n. 75, 20, 197
  Dutch/Flemish language 4–5, 20, 160, 166, 201
Ludolf von Sudheim 161, 171
Luther, Martin 202, 203

Mainz 3, 154, 159, 165, 170, 172
  see also Breydenbach, Bernhard von
Mamluks
  in Cairo 131–34
  disguise as 61, 131–34, 135–41
  as former Christians 10, 75, 132–34, 138
  German 10, 75, 131, 132 n. 102, 138
  as individuals 75, 76, 78
  in Jerusalem 10, 11, 135–41
  and the Sultanate 10, 106, 134
Mandeville, John 20, 119, 121
  Mandeville's *Book*
    combination of pilgrimage and non–pilgrimage material 44, 118, 130, 146–47, 161
    in English 20, 36, 160
    in German 20, 146–48, 160,
    source for pilgrim writers 8, 20–21, 36, 43, 44, 74, 180
    transmission 20, 43, 118, 160–61
    see also meme Jerusalem *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space; and Mandeville's *Book* under *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff under* Harff, Arnold von
Mantua, Council of 106
Manuscripts 34, 38
  London, British Library, MS Cotton Vitellius C XIV 114 n. 22
  London, British Library, MS Royal 7 C I 114 n. 22
  manuscript culture after print 6, 8, 153, 163, 164–67, 187, 189–90
  Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565 *see* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565 *under* *Itineraries under* Wey, William
  Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 972 *see* Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 972 *under* *Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff under* Harff, Arnold von
Marvels of the East *see* Wonders of the East
Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor 105

mental pilgrimage *see* virtual pilgrimage
Mount of Olives *see* Valley of Josaphat
Muslims *see* Islam

Nazareth 164
Non–Latin Christianity 24, 68, 70, 73, 76, 99–104
  Abyssinians 103
  exclusion from pilgrimage space 86–87, 103, 108
  Greeks 75, 86, 90, 101–04, 165–67
  as heretical 70–71, 81, 85, 99–101
  Nestorians 81
  neutral descriptions of 78, 81, 86
  as non–Christian 87, 100–04
Nuremberg 167
Nuremberg Chronicle (Nürnberger Weltchronik) 175 n. 105

Odoric of Pordenone 19–20, 36, 118, 146, 147 n. 153, 148
orientalism 68–69, 74, 80, 88–89, 91, 103, 107
othering 24, 67–108, 139–40, 192, 194
  see also use in context of othering *under* Scripture; Islamophobia *under* Islam; antisemitism *under* Judaism
Ottomans 10, 76, 95, 106
  as military threat to Christians 68–69, 159
    in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 57, 65–66, 85, 87, 104–07
    in Harff's *Pilgerfahrt* 66
    in Larke's *Pylgrymage* 66, 71–72
    in Wey's *Itineraries* 36, 46, 65–66, 79–80, 108

Pallavicino, Cristoforo 12, 126–27
papacy 76, 102
  Alexander III 44
  Clement VI 11
  Innocent VIII 105
  Leo I 19, 36, 52, 129
  Pius II 106
Passion 11, 54, 73, 162
  crucifixion as symbolic of Christianity 91, 105
  images of 80, 85, 125, 141
Paul of Burgos (Breydenbach's 'Doctor') 19, 90–94
Pfister, Albrecht 172 n. 91
physicality 52, 130
  in virtual pilgrimage *see* physicality *under* virtual pilgrimage
Piers Plowman 109–10
pilgrimage
  contract 9, 12, 56, 59, 61
  criticism of *see* and criticism of pilgrimage *under* curiosity
  logistics 1, 9–13
  route 9–10, 12–13
  sea voyage 9, 12–13, 56, 62, 65
  virtual pilgrimage *see* virtual pilgrimage
pilgrimage as conceptual space
  accessible from anywhere 13, 22–23, 25, 53–54, 74, 117, 195–96
    by pilgrim writers 23, 54, 127, 141, 195–96
    role of print 188, 191, 196
  exclusion of groups from pilgrimage space 72, 75 n. 35, 86–87, 107, 108
  as liturgy 23, 74, 196
  meme Jerusalem 20–22, 188, 195, 196
    distinct from real Jerusalem 51, 65, 85, 146, 188, 192
    and Mandeville's *Book* 20–21, 118, 160
    ongoing development of 21–22, 54–55, 122–23, 191
  and time
    detached from time 17, 23, 54, 74, 141, 191, 196
    present to other times 17, 60
  uniform experience 22–25, 45, 54, 63–65, 73, 189–91, 195–96
pilgrimage writing
  in England 8, 18–19, 55 n. 99, 162, 197–99
  as entertainment 59–60, 109, 118–19, 131

in Germany 8, 18, 162, 199–203
history of 18–19
rewriting other pilgrims
ancillary aspects of pilgrimage accounts 75, 88–90, 107, 164, 165–67
for conformity 21, 64–65, 195
see also impact on pilgrimage writing *under* print
role of print *see* impact on pilgrimage writing *under* print
see also genre
Polo, Marco 8, 20, 118, 146, 147 n. 153, 166
print 153–91
illustration *see* in printed books *under* visual culture
impact on pilgrimage writing 64, 153–54, 165–69, 180–91, 196
incunabula 163
Latin book trade 155–56, 162 n. 47, 173
and Larke, Thomas 19, 25, 180, 184, 189–90
London, British Library, IB.335 (Breydenbach High German, 1486) 173–75
London, British Library, G6719 (*Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde*) 7, 162, 179–80
manuscripts *see* manuscript culture after print *under* manuscripts
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 5 Q 5.43 (Breydenbach, High German, 1488) 173
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. 6 Q 5.21 (Breydenbach, Low German, 1488) 166–67
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Inc.c.G1.1486.1 (Breydenbach, Latin, 1486) 173–75
print culture in England 155–56, 159–60, 162–64, 177–80, 190
print culture in Germany 154–55, 158–59, 164–67, 169–76, 184
Ptolemy 20, 74, 146
Purgatory 76
Pynson, Richard 7, 156, 159–60, 177–79, 199

Queen of Sheba 12

Rad, Martin *see* Rath, Martin
Rath, Martin 4, 58, 170
Reform (within the Church) 116–17, 159
in Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* 58, 105, 189, 193, 194
in Larke's *Pylgrymage* 178, 180, 183–84, 190, 193
Reformation 2, 19, 84, 107, 159, 196
in Germany 193, 202, 203
relics 36, 37, 42, 44, 54
authenticity of 61, 146, 149–50, 152, 193
as souvenirs of pilgrimage 13, 17–18
Reuwich, Erhard 4, 165–66, 171–73, 174 n. 101, 176
Rhodes 9, 46, 75, 79–80, 86, 106
see also Ottomans
Richel, Bernhard 20, 160
Rieter Family 167–68, 199
Reisebuch 167–68, 199, 200
Sebald the elder 167–68, 181 n. 133, 187, 199
Sebald the younger 66 n. 144, 167–68, 169, 187, 189, 200, 201
Rome
as centre of Latin Christianity 76, 78, 99
as pilgrimage destination 141, 198
combined with visit to Compostela 3, 5, 109, 167, 168, 199
indulgences available in 3, 37
relics in 149
Stations of Rome 37, 164
for virtual pilgrims 15, 17
of secular interest 59–60, 131
rosary 38
Roth, Martin *see* Rath, Martin

sacraments 93, 101, 102, 167 n. 70
see also liturgy
Saewulf 19

Santiago de Compostela 2, 197, 203
combined with visit to Rome *see* combined with visit to Compostela *under* Rome
indulgences available in 37, 160
Jewish inhabitants 80
relics in 37, 61, 149, 193
scallop shell 138
Schoeffer, Peter 172–73
Scripture 115, 129–30
attempts to reconcile with contemporary Holy Land 122–23
cited by pilgrims 56, 73, 139, 182–84, 193
and othering 73, 90, 92, 93, 96, 100 n. 153
printed Bibles 154, 159, 161 n. 41, 172, 184
vernacular 161 n. 41, 182–84, 193
Sinai (St Catherine's Monastery)
as addendum to Jerusalem pilgrimage 3, 5, 109–10
journey 9, 12, 57, 126, 144, 148
logistics 12, 59
as pilgrimage to St Catherine 58, 86, 170
textual arrangement within account 66 n. 144, 87, 107, 164
Sorg, Anton 20, 155, 160, 161, 173, 174 n. 101
South English Legendary 68, 69
Spain 80, 167
Spanish language 4–5, 37, 185, 201
see also Santiago de Compostela
Stations of the Cross *see* Stations of the Cross *under* Franciscans
Stephen, St (site of martyrdom) 12, 181–82
Syon Abbey 19, 163, 176

Temple of Solomon *see* Dome of the Rock/ Temple of Solomon
Thirteen Years War 106
Tomb of the Patriarchs 85–86, 135
Torkington, Richard 167, 169, 181, 189
biography 168
and Larke's *Pylgrymage* 22, 168, 179, 185–87, 190, 199
transmission 187
translation
of Breydenbach's *Peregrinatio* *see* and Breydenbach's *Pergrinatio under Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff under* Harff, Arnold von; and Breydenbach's *Pergrinatio under Pylgrymage of Sir Richard Guylforde under* Larke, Thomas; other vernaculars *under Peregrinatio in terram sanctam under* Breydenbach, Bernhard von
of non–travel/pilgrimage writing 175 n. 107, 175 n. 109, 178–79
of pilgrimage and travel writing 20, 146, 148, 160–61, 175, 185
of Scripture *see* vernacular *under* Scripture
Tucher, Hans
biography 167
and Breydenbach 21–22, 168, 184–85, 186, 187
as originator of chain of printed Holy Land depictions 168, 184–89, 190
publication history 159, 168, 171
and Rieter family 167–68, 200
Turks *see* Ottomans

unicorns 44
Ünkel, Bartholomäus von 184 n. 149

Valley of Josaphat 11–12, 85, 122, 181–86, 196
Venice
ceremonial events 43, 44, 62
departure/return point for sea voyage 9, 12–13, 30, 50, 59, 161
images of 173
Jewish inhabitants (Mestre) 73, 192–93
Venice Arsenal 62, 123
Vincent of Beauvais 19, 90, 91

Virgin Mary 12, 52 n. 90, 85, 125, 133
Tomb 12, 182, 186
Walsingham 160
virtual pilgrimage 13–18, 20–23, 25, 162–63
images and visuality 13, 15, 130, 144, 195 n. 12
indulgences for *see* and virtual pilgrimage *under* indulgences
nuns 15–16, 17, 53, 149
physicality 13–16, 17–18, 31 n. 17, 124
time *see* and time *under* pilgrimage as conceptual space
use of pilgrimage accounts 16–17, 18, 21–23, 31, 117–18
accounts written for virtual pilgrims 16, 53–54, 144, 198, 200
Harff's *Pilgerfahrt* 119
Larke's *Pylgrymage* 62
Mandeville's *Book* 16, 21 n. 108
oral accounts 16–17
Wey's *Itineraries* 18, 31, 41–42, 47–48, 52–55, 66, 81
writing as virtual pilgrimage 127–28, 149, 195–96
see also pilgrimage as conceptual space
visual culture 21, 130
in manuscripts 60, 132, 138, 140–41
in printed books 156–57, 158–59, 175 n. 105, 176, 179, 189
see also images *under Peregrinatio in terram sanctam under* Breydenbach, Bernhard von
and virtual pilgrimage *see* images and visuality *under* virtual pilgrimage
Vlad III, Ruler of Wallachia (Vlad the Impaler) 46, 79–80

Walsingham, Thomas 46
Wars of the Roses 2, 106, 193
Wey, William
bequests 18, 32, 33, 35, 37
biography 2–3
Edington Priory 2–3, 17–18, 46, 163, 195
see also holy sepulchre chapels
Itineraries 27–28, 32–55, 63–66, 78–82, 121–23, 197
audience 3, 39–40, 52–54
code–switching 38–39, 164
composition process 33–34, 38–40
contents 35–37
deviation from standard pilgrimage itinerary 11 n. 61
language choice 8, 34–43, 53–54
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 565 3, 32–39, 121, 197
sources 19, 35–37, 44 n. 55, 52, 113–14, 129, 163
transmission *see* and Wey's *Itineraries under Information for Pilgrims under* de Worde, Wynkyn
and virtual pilgrimage *see* Wey's *Itineraries under* use of pilgrimage accounts *under* virtual pilgrimage
Jerusalem chapel 2, 17–18, 23, 195
see also holy sepulchre chapels
Whitby, John, Prior of Gisborough 7, 126
Wild, Leonardus 161
Wittgenstein, Ludwig 28–30, 63
Wolfram von Eschenbach 119–20, 68 n. 7
Wolsey, Cardinal 6, 177
women
and Harff, Arnold von 5, 78, 132, 134, 152
and learning 116, 157
pilgrims 18, 162–63
Wonders of the East 118, 130, 150, 161
see also Wonders of the East *under Pilgerfahrt des Ritters Arnold von Harff under* Harff, Arnold von
Wycliffe, John 70, 101
Wycliffitism (Lollardy) 70, 117, 128, 178, 183, 193

Zainer, Günther 161
Zell, Ulrich 165